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TO CALL the American-Brazilian tariff agreement the "first break in the log-jam of international trade," to quote Secretary Hull, is to reveal the bankruptcy of the Administration's tariff policy. Nearly a year has elapsed since the passage of the reciprocal tariff act, and though at that time negotiations with several countries had been in progress for months, only two agreements have since been reached. Of the two, the one with Cuba belongs in a separate category because it does not involve the question of most-favored-nation treatment. The Brazilian pact represents the Administration's first attempt to bring about a genuine reduction of tariffs by means of bilateral negotiations under the most-favored-nation clause. As such the results are disheartening. The United States has agreed to reduce its tariff by 50 per cent on balsam, natural ipecac, maté, manganese ore, Brazil nuts, and castor beans—for which we paid all told less than two million dollars in 1933. In return Brazil undertakes to cut duties by 20 to 60 per cent on twenty-eight articles from the United States which had a total value in 1933 of nearly ten million dollars. Thus the United States, instead of making the tariff reduction necessary to restore the purchasing power of a debtor nation, has utilized its bargaining power to break down the protective barriers of a weaker country. And this end achieved, the American press jubilantly commends the Administration for its great victory. The difficulty, of course, lies in the psychology aroused by the bargaining process. As long as it is assumed that we benefit by our tariff and that we should be weakened by any concessions, it is obvious that no real reductions will be made. It is disquieting, moreover, to note that in the first real test of our sincerity regarding the most-favored-nation principle—the generalization of the tariff reduction on manganese—the benefit is not to be extended to the Soviet Union. Since no explanation has been offered for this arbitrary action, it may be assumed that the Administration has as yet been unable to find a plausible excuse.

THE MUNITIONS INQUIRY has plunged into a jungle of questionable practice in the letting of contracts for the navy ships, and obviously the ground will have to be ruthlessly cleared. The testimony develops a remarkable picture and involves men of whose existence and power the public has never dreamed. There is Arthur P. Homer, who has been said to be a "fixer" who could obtain a $10,000,000 cruiser contract for a $250,000 fee, a power which he himself staunchly repudiates. Mr. Homer also is credited with last year's happy idea of building naval vessels with Public Works money. The idea was carried to Marvin McIntyre, the President's secretary, and by him to the President, who approved it, and finally it was "sold" to Assistant Secretary Roosevelt at the Navy Department. This same Mr. Homer, in a matter of a contract for destroyers, arranged to have ten telegrams sent to the White House on behalf of Bath Shipyards, and then called Mr. McIntyre and asked to have the telegrams sorted out from the rest of the President's messages and laid before him at breakfast. Mr. McIntyre promised to do so. The President was asked about this at his own press conference and laughed it off, saying that "Mac" was always having to make such promises, and that the promises were the end of the matter, a curious sidelight on the sub-ethical duties of the White House secretariat.

EVIDENCE OF COLLUSION between the "Unholy Three"—the New York Shipbuilding Corporation, the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, and the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company—in bidding for cruiser contracts was offered by John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Division of the A. F. of L. Ten days before the bids were opened last summer he was given an envelope containing the names of the companies which would be lowest bidders for each type of ship. He told General Hugh Johnson about it and offered to open the envelope, but the General said it was "too hot" for him, and refused the information. When the bids were published, the information in the envelope proved to be correct in every detail. A letter

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from Secretary Swanson was read into the record which stated that the Navy Department investigated charges of collusion last summer but could find no evidence. Laurence P. Wilder, whose testimony first revealed the existence of the alleged "fixer," was in charge of the lobby for the Jones-White merchant-marine bill in 1928, and his expense account at that time was $235,000, not a trifle even for a boom year. Mr. Wilder told the Senate committee that the navy was "in a vise controlled by the three big shipyards." Since the ships built last year cost nearly a fifth more than the year before, the charge of collusion should be investigated by the Department of Justice.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT on German rearmament comes years too late to remedy the situation, which now can only be ameliorated. The evils of Hitlerism, secret rearmament, and German isolation may be attributed largely to resentment against the stigma of inferiority imposed by the Versailles treaty, particularly its war-guilt, reparations, and armament provisions. If the offer to abrogate the military clauses of Part V of the Versailles pact had been made three years ago, Hitler would in all probability not be in power today; if it had been made eighteen months ago, Germany would not have withdrawn from the League. Yet while the effect of the delay has been disastrous to Germany, its repercussions on the European political scene have in some respect been beneficial. Without the threat of an irreconcilable German foreign policy, the Soviet Union might not have entered the League, the Franco-Italian rapprochement would never have been consummated, and the proposed Eastern Locarno would not have even been broached. If as a result of the belated action of France and Britain Germany can be induced to rejoin the League, there will at least be a net gain for international organization, though the bitterness which has been aroused in the interval may reduce this organization to scraps of paper.

THE LEGALIZATION of German rearmament is also being used as a bait to persuade the Reich to join in the proposed convention for joint assistance against attack from the air. While the suggested accord is identical in principle with the Locarno agreement which it is designed to supplement, it is obviously conceived as a protection against a real threat—the new German air fleet. A defensive understanding among the former Allied powers is undoubtedly on the cards if Germany fails to accept the Anglo-French proposal. But a defensive agreement directed against a given country is open to serious objections, in that it may easily lead to the development of a system of alliances such as existed prior to the World War. The step taken at London may be interpreted as a final and vigorous effort to bring Germany back into the orbit of the existing world organization. If it is successful the problems of disarmament and international economic cooperation can be taken up where they were dropped two years ago. If it fails, the world will be back precisely where it was in 1914.

REVISION of the Soviet constitution in the direction of greater democracy will be hailed by enemies of the Soviet system as further evidence that Russia is moving to the right. Scores of editorial writers will interrupt their denunciation of Soviet terrorism and the Communist menace in this country long enough to point out with great solemnity that the whole trend of Soviet policy is toward an early return of capitalism. That the present constitutional changes have been made possible by the dramatic successes of the Soviet agricultural program, which they vehemently denounce, will of course be ignored. But the abolition of the inequalities between rural and urban representation, the substitution of direct for indirect election for the high soviets, and the inauguration of the secret ballot can mean only one thing—that opposition to Communist rule has dwindled into insignificance. More specifically this means that the progress of collectivization has transformed the peasants, who constitute 75 per cent of the Soviet population, from petty-bourgeois individualists into cooperating members of the Socialist system. Thus what appears to be a trend to the right is the inverted reflection of a basic and apparently irresistible movement to the left.

FOR ANYONE who is still capable of doubting that big business (1) knows what it wants and (2) prefers profit to principles we present two pieces of evidence, for which we are indebted to the Labor and Socialist Press Service. Exhibit number one consists of two quotations from a resolution prepared for Congress by the National Association of Manufacturers. The first has to do with trade practices.

> The approved competitive practices and prohibitions submitted by the properly defined majority of a group, trade, or industry should be binding upon the minority.

The second refers to labor.

> Recognize the equal right of minorities or individuals to bargain for themselves directly or through representatives of their own choosing.

Exhibit number two consists of two quotations also—this time from a series of propositions made by the United States Chamber of Commerce. Proposition VII reads:

> Rules of fair competition formulated by a clearly preponderant part of an industry as suitable for the whole industry with due consideration for small units and approval by the governmental agency should be enforceable against all concerns in the industry.

Proposition VIII reads:

> In any new legislation it should be made unmistakable that collective bargaining is bargaining with representatives of all groups of employees that desire to act through spokesmen, without the right of the minority group to deal collectively, or the direct right of individual bargaining, being precluded.

BECAUSE its four huge industrial plants have closed down and 90 per cent of its citizens are on relief, the borough of Everson in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, did not have enough money to pay a bill of $1,000 owed to the Citizens' Water Company, a subsidiary of the powerful Delaware Valley Utilities Company. The utility thereupon not only shut off the borough's water supply but sent crews of men through the streets to smash all fire hydrants. Two days later a fire broke out in a block of wooden buildings and threatened the whole town. The citizens of Everson protested to the state Public Service Commission, which in

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turn warned the utility not to shut off the water, although this had already been done. A hearing has been arranged, but meanwhile Everson is without water and another fire could easily wipe out the community. The action of the Delaware Valley Utilities Company hardly strengthens the utilities' case against federal control.

THE YOUNG MEN hired by the FERA to educate the people while they have nothing else to do are having difficulties from Maine to Arkansas. We discuss elsewhere the case of Ward H. Rodgers, a former FERA instructor. The tale of Vernon Booker in Bangor is less serious but more fantastic. In the course of a series of lectures designed for men and women between twenty-five and forty, Mr. Booker devoted one discussion to communism and life in Soviet Russia. He quoted extensively from Dr. Frankwood Williams's book on Russia; he went so far as to agree with Dr. Williams at various points, particularly on the intelligence with which the communist state handles marriage and divorce and the rearing of children. Within two days the entire town of Bangor, led by the Bangor *Daily News*, was in a ferment over the "educator from New York." We quote the letter of an eloquent correspondent:

> Every official in town, various agitated ladies interested in branches of Christian endeavor, and the local head of the American Legion indulged in a barrage of telegrams and telephone calls. They appealed en masse to the Governor himself. Bangor seethed. . . . [Mr. Booker] ventured to call on the Grand Panjandrum of the Bangor *Daily News*. The Grand Panjandrum, in a palsy bordering on hysteria, dismissed Mr. Booker without giving him a chance to utter a word. This newspaper made use of every detail to emphasize how it had come to the rescue of a helpless community. It adroitly refrained from mentioning that Mr. Booker was a native-born son, hailing from Lincoln some fifty miles away, that he came of pure New England parentage, and was educated in Maine schools. The Young Men's Christian Association [where the lecture was given] closed its chaste portals.

Needless to say, Mr. Booker lost his job. But that did not save the FERA from attack for hiring so subversive a young man. The Bangor *News* reported proudly that Chief Justice William R. Pattangall had said: "If the FERA director cannot find any better way to spend government funds he better send the money back to Washington." This is a new version of the "back where you came from" school. Shall we henceforth read "FERA" for "Russian" gold?

WONDER what it feels like to be Premier of Prussia? General Hermann Wilhelm Göring recently went to Poland to do a little hunting with President Moscicki. We quote a dispatch from Bialowitsch, Poland:

> This little town had a hard time during General Göring's stay, for its inhabitants lived as if they were in a beleaguered place. . . . No one was permitted to leave passing trains . . . The police carefully scrutinized the documents of passengers and many were sent back. The tourist hotel was closed by the police for a whole week and the only private hotel was filled with the police agents who accompanied General Göring. . . . The police protection was perfect in every detail. Two policemen guarded every member of the hunting party . . .

It is not surprising that with so many policemen around, General Göring succeeded in bagging only one wild boar and several hares. The whole episode has left us feeling patriotic. In America a man runs little danger of being murdered except by someone who is hired to kill him. General Göring, on the other hand, apparently is in danger of being murdered by everyone except those who are hired not to.

THE EDITOR of our Hunting for Hawaii Department reports the sighting of big game. The *Atlantic Monthly* for February devotes its leading article to the delights of Hawaii; and the article contains the following sentiments which will be familiar to all those who read *The Nation* of January 30:

> For Hawaii voluntarily attached itself to, and was accepted into, the American Union before I was born, just as Texas was, and so is no foreign place but merely another part of our own familiar U. S. A.
>
> Like Arizona, not many years ago with a similar status . . . Hawaii's history, just as Arizona's, is now a part of United States history as a whole.
>
> I wonder if they [the people of Hawaii] do not sometimes grow a little weary of being "a state in the making"—especially when they observe some sixteen of the full-fledged mainland states paying no such taxes into Uncle Sam's pocket as they do, and many light-heartedly borrowing or begging greater sums from that shortsighted old Yankee year after year.

Of the author of this article the *Atlantic* says, in its contributors' column, that "many readers . . . will be happy, not envious, to hear of his luck in being sent to the Pacific as an emissary of the *Atlantic*." We imagine Sidney S. Bowman of the Pan-Pacific Press Bureau was the most happy and the least envious reader of them all. A little farther along we learn that the author is by trade a designer of tombstones. Perhaps he will be able to design an appropriate one for Mr. Bowman's little campaign of propaganda, which our spies report is dying prematurely—from exposure.

WE ARE DELIGHTED to announce that Heywood Broun has returned to *The Nation* as a regular weekly contributor. He assumes at this time a rather unaccustomed role as a labor commentator. We are convinced that the combination will be a fruitful one. Labor in this country certainly has need of partisans as persuasive, fearless, and yet humorous as Heywood Broun. And Heywood Broun would be the first to admit that the principles he has upheld so stoutly against so many managing editors can be maintained only by a united labor movement strong enough to combat the offensives now being launched by Hearst, the American Liberty League, and other knights of reaction. Mr. Broun will of course give special attention to the Newspaper Guild in his weekly comment; but he will do so not because he wishes to promote the interests of any single organization but because he feels that the Guild can take the lead in bringing into the American labor movement a group as yet largely unorganized, namely, professional workers. We can think of no surer guard against fascism than an industrial union of all those workers, particularly teachers and writers, who are in a position to influence public opinion. This is a large project. We consider the enlistment of Heywood Broun an excellent beginning.

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Our Surrendering President

LESS than three months ago President Roosevelt won a record-breaking victory in the Congressional elections. He might have construed it as a mandate to lead the country with the same enthusiasm and conviction that marked the first months of his Administration. The New Deal at that time was a promise of a new social order, distributing its privileges on a broad democratic basis. Though after two years the New Deal had not yet emerged, the NRA had been a disappointment, and the benefits of the underprivileged were confined to the receipt of federal relief, a great majority was sent to Congress implicitly instructed to support the President, who was thus given a renewed opportunity to realize his promises. But since the election the President has failed to justify the faith placed in him. His vaunted security program as finally hatched proved to be halting and inadequate. Even its advocates could only say for it that it was a beginning. Then followed his work-relief program. Before the election this was held out as a determined pledge that if industry cannot employ the unemployed the government can and will. It turns out to be a morbid substitute for relief, making certain that able-bodied persons who cannot find work in a crippled capitalist system shall not draw help from the government without toiling for it at depressed wages in a federal work gang. The President next surrendered to the newspaper publishers and clipped the wings of his own creation, the National Labor Relations Board, thereby jeopardizing the entire program of enforcement of the law on collective bargaining. And last week he declared war on organized labor in extending the automobile code, revised to include the worthless Wolman labor board. The amended code in effect sanctions the forty-eight-hour week in the automobile industry, and the NIRA both opposed it and recommended changes. The President, abetted by Mr. Richberg, thereupon promulgated the amendments by his autocratic powers, a drama of caesarism which his admirers have always said would be impossible. While this chapter was being written he suffered an almost calamitous defeat in the Senate over the World Court, and received yet another setback in the collapse of the debt negotiations which he had begun with the Soviet government. We do not know how much the President might have achieved in the three months after the elections, but it would have needed a rare talent for failure to have done worse.

The defeat of the World Court was calamitous not because our adherence or non-adherence matters greatly, but because with one ugly revulsion this country turned away from cooperation with other nations in seeking effective alternatives to war. Many factors can be marshaled to explain the defeat. One, certainly, was the loss of the sense of smell in the President's famous nose for politics. He has become so accustomed to success, or is so preternaturally optimistic, that he leaves to his aides responsibilities which he should shoulder himself. We have no doubt that if he had foreseen the possibility of defeat he could have saved the court in the Senate. He could have gone "on the air." He could have appealed to the millions of Americans who wish to be good neighbors in international affairs. The defeat is primarily his own fault. But it also is beyond question that we should be in the World Court today if the Irish-Canadian priest of Detroit had never embarked on his remarkable career as broadcaster. The sudden show of strength by Father Coughlin surprised many people. They had not thought it possible that 200,000 telegrams signed by a million names should stream into Washington in a week, as the result of an hour's torture of the truth by a radio speaker. But they may well be warned. The President is no longer leading the country. He is leaving the field to the demagogues.

These have been black days in Washington. They are incomparably blacker than the week of the bank crisis, for in that experience America was drawn closer together and was inspired with the knowledge that by cooperation it could surmount its difficulties. In the present days sinister forces show themselves, still incipient, but rising with the slow sweep of a tide. It may have been too much to expect that the President would continue to hold these forces at bay. For after all he may have set out on an impossible task—to repair by broadening its democracy a social order which lives by inequality. The forces are not alone exemplified by Father Coughlin; they appear in another guise in the President's own compromises. The letter to the Biddle board two weeks ago and the autocratic imposition of the automobile code last week are the kinds of surrender to be expected if business is to be indulged when it insists on dominating its workers. The code was not imposed for purposes which lay within the President's own philosophy of two years ago. We believe that then the President was sincere in advocating the right of collective bargaining. But now that the automobile board has betrayed and estranged labor and has become the good servant of the automobile manufacturers, the President tries to thrust it down the throat of labor. This change in the President in two years reveals, we believe, the working of an insidious transformation in our national life which if unchecked must end in fascism. The President may not have consciously changed. He may not see that his program of relief work at depressed wages and his betrayal of organized labor are the two greatest gifts to employer-supremacy ever made in this country. His defeat in the Senate and his failure to keep abreast of the American public may startle him for a moment from his invincible optimism. He is turning against the people who elected him and choosing allies among the employers who have been his inveterate opponents. Mr. Farley may know that with five billions to spend he can buy the President's way back into office in 1936. But not any sum can buy the fulness of faith which the country once had in him. He can win it again only by leading. Even if his task should be impossible, at least he can appeal to the great public which believes in economic democracy, and, if need be, take his defeat fighting for it. Three times in a fortnight the President has surrendered without a struggle, twice to the employers, and once to the frenzy of Father Coughlin. It is an inglorious and foreboding record.

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Slamming the Door on Russia

IT is a far cry from the cordial conversations between President Roosevelt and M. Litvinov of fifteen months ago to the undiplomatic abruptness with which the State Department ended negotiations with the Soviet government last week. Nor is it possible to explain why the State Department should have spoiled with bad grace what the President began so propitiously. No major change has taken place in this country, in Russia, or in the world to justify the failure of the negotiations. The same reasons for normal, friendly relations exist now as when the President wrote to Moscow soon after his inauguration. The same possibility remains for Soviet purchases in America, and the need for employing American workers on Soviet orders is even more acute. Yet the chance to do political and economic service at one stroke is thrown away as if it were not the business of a foreign office to benefit from a double windfall. All we know about the failure is that the Soviet negotiations have been beset by minor difficulties some of which ought to have been avoided, and that as they progressed they departed from the principles agreed to by the President and M. Litvinov.

The first difficulty was the Johnson Act, which forbade loans to foreign governments in default, though it exempted the Export Bank as a government agency. The bank thereupon gratuitously accepted the conditions of this law. The second came when the State Department asked Attorney General Cummings for a ruling on whether the Soviet government was in default. In asking the opinion it did not inform him that the negotiations were on the basis, accepted by the President in his talks with M. Litvinov, of measuring claims against counter-claims. The Attorney General could hardly have ruled the Soviet government in default until the amount of counter-claims had been determined. But since the State Department did not mention counter-claims, the ruling came that the Soviet government was in default. Thereafter the State Department began haggling about credits. Now the Soviet government was not interested primarily in credits; what it wanted was friendship with America, and it was prepared to pay the awkward price of a left-handed recognition of the American loan to Kerensky, even though the loan bought supplies for Kolchak. We offered only short-term credits; the Soviet Ambassador was willing to take only a long-term loan. And there the negotiations almost collapsed, when M. Troyanovsky finally offered to compromise by taking half the credits for five years and the other half for twenty years. The State Department seemed to be annoyed at this, and the Soviet Ambassador returned to Moscow. At the time we could understand the mood of the State Department only by supposing that it was trying to put over the issue until after the November election. We were wrong. M. Troyanovsky returned to Washington and last week renewed his offer. He did not improve on it, and this, if the State Department thought it was out-bargaining the wily Easterners, may have been a shock to Secretary Hull's entourage. But the outcome was that after a five-minute interview the negotiations were not only broken off but ended with an emphasis that is anything but true diplomacy.

Thus is written a new chapter in the mismanagement of debt collections. What we have lost from Russia is not as great as the sums we might have collected from our former associates in the war, but it is considerable. We had a concrete offer of $100,000,000 to be paid us over a period of years in settlement of claims. The sum we asked was more, but we might have expected a compromise payment of around $150,000,000. We had in addition the promise of $200,000,000 in business for American firms. While the negotiations progressed, Russia's relations with France improved, so that what we offered in short-term credits was no better than what might have been obtained in Paris, perhaps even in Germany and Great Britain, without paying the price of appearing to recognize debts contracted by earlier Russian governments. At the same time the Soviets' need for foreign machinery decreased through the improvement of internal economic conditions. Yet the State Department took no account of these changes, consulted no interests of our own so far as we can see, and in the end slammed shut the door on further discussion. We must ask some questions. Who was it who insisted that the negotiations must end? Was it the President? Was it by any far-fetched chance Secretary Hull? Was it Mr. Kelley, chief of the Eastern European Division, who all along has appeared to have an animus against the Soviet government? If it was Mr. Kelley, how does it happen that he is allowed so much influence in American affairs? If, as we suspect, the negotiations failed simply through the ineptitude of the State Department, no answers to these questions need be expected.

Has Chiang Kai-shek Sold Out?

ON the basis of press reports, one would conclude that after a long period of quiet preparation Japan had suddenly resumed the use of forcible tactics to further its ambitions in China. The attack on Chahar and the skirmish with Outer Mongolian troops at Kalkha Miao are interpreted as efforts to intimidate Nanking so as to exact concessions which would otherwise be hard to win. This interpretation glosses over the basic fact of recent Sino-Japanese relations—that Chiang Kai-shek has worked hand in glove with the Japanese at every opportunity. No show of force is necessary to persuade Chiang that Japan can be of inestimable assistance in dealing with the Communists. Nor is it necessary for the purpose of strengthening Japan's military position with a view to a further attack on North China. The demilitarized zone created by the Tangku truce of May 31, 1933, has always been under the full control of the Japanese troops stationed along the Peiping-Shankaikuan railway. The Peiping Political Council—the dominant political body in North China—and the Hopei provincial government are completely under the thumb of Japan. In Nanking Japanese influence has been somewhat less direct but none the less effective. The new tariff schedules promulgated by the Nanking authorities in July, 1934, reduced the duties on all Japanese products, even to the extent of

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injuring domestic manufacturers, while increasing the levy on imports from other nations. These measures, together with the suppression of the anti-Japanese boycott, have brought Japanese trade virtually back to the 1931 level.

But Japanese ambitions have by no means been satisfied. There still remains a long list of specific demands, some of them running back to 1915, which Tokyo is pressing for acceptance. Primary among these is Japan's desire to finance the construction of a series of railways which would place North China in much the same position of economic dependence as Manchuria was in prior to 1931. Parallel to this is the demand that only Japanese capital be used for the development of agriculture and industry in the five northernmost provinces of China. Nanking is also being pressed to replace its present European and American technical advisers with Japanese, and to accept large loans for the reorganization and modernization of its army. There is even talk of inducing China to withdraw from the League in order to bring it more fully under the control of Japan. In exchange for these concessions, Japan stands ready to raise the rank of its envoy to that of ambassador and to render much-needed financial aid to the Nanking regime.

Obviously many of the above aspirations are in the nature of long-range objectives rather than immediate political issues. The proposed agreement for cooperation against the Communists and certain of the specific economic demands appear, however, to require immediate attention. In fact, it is highly probable that at least tentative arrangements on these points have already been concluded. Chiang's withdrawal of troops from North China, his consent to the appointment of Japanese advisers to towns in the demilitarized area, the recent reopening of postal service between China and Manchoukuo, and the drastic measures taken to curb anti-Japanese activity are explicable only on the basis of a definite understanding with Japan. Beyond this, however, Chiang cannot go without incurring widespread popular disapproval. Anti-Japanese sentiment is dormant, but it has by no means been crushed. To enter voluntarily into an open alliance with the Japanese against the Communists would be suicidal. But if it could be made to appear that these concessions were imposed upon Chiang by the superior force of Japanese arms, public opinion would be much less outraged. Such is the subtlety of Oriental diplomacy.

What we appear to be witnessing, then, is an attempt by Chiang Kai-shek to save his own neck by selling out to Japan. Suppressed by ruthless terrorism, the Chinese people are unable to prevent this betrayal. Never was the protection of such agreements as the Nine Power Pact more obviously required. Though the Open Door policy has frequently been used as a shield for dealings of an unsavory nature, it has at least been instrumental in preventing an unholy scramble for territorial booty in China. Yet for the United States to go out of its way to invoke the Open Door at the present moment would merely heighten Japanese resentment against this country. If any lesson is to be drawn from the experience of the last three years, it is that Japan is not to be swerved by spasmodic protests. Nothing short of joint action by all the powers can stave off an ultimate conflict for the mastery of the Far East. Because the United States is the one great power now outside the League, its responsibility is doubly great.

Terror in Arkansas

IN more fields than one the Roosevelt Administration's well-intentioned attempts to reconcile basic differences between those who have and those who have not have resulted only in defining the issues and precipitating actual conflict Thus we have the strange spectacle of an out-and-out break between a liberal President and the American Federation of Labor, which has been able to get along with some of the most reactionary Presidents in our history—and the Administration faces a period of unprecedented labor strife. In the South one of the more tangible results of the policies of the AAA is the virtual reign of terror which cotton planters in eastern Arkansas are now conducting against share-croppers. The acreage-reduction plan was designed to raise the price of cotton and bring back prosperity to the whole South. It is being administered by Secretary Wallace, perhaps the most socially-minded member of the Roosevelt regime. Yet as a direct result of it thousands of share-croppers, whose poverty defies exaggeration and who obviously need help more than any other section of the farm population, face eviction; and their organization of a tenant-farmers' union, encouraged, no doubt, by the government's friendly attitude toward unionization, has provoked the present terror against them.

In last week's issue we commented on the arrest and conviction of Ward H. Rodgers in Marked Tree for "anarchy." Since then other partisans of the share-croppers, namely, Lucien Koch and Bob Reed of Commonwealth College, have been beaten up; and Mr. Rodgers has been arrested again, along with Mr. Koch and a third unnamed person, in the town of Lepanto, Arkansas. The motivation of these arrests was made clear by the mayor of the town himself. The three men were taken into custody while addressing a meeting of whites and Negroes. "They were talking about that 'share-cropper business,'" said the Mayor, "and were creating a lot of tension that was unnecessary." In another section of this issue William R. Amberson presents a thorough and authoritative survey of the "share-cropper business." We leave it to the reader to judge whether the tension was created by three men in Lepanto.

The Department of Agriculture has taken account of the terror in Arkansas in two important ways. It has sent an investigator, Mrs. Mary Connor Myers, to the region, and we can report that she is making a real investigation. She has actually talked to members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, which is more than her predecessors have done. What is even more to the point, the department, mainly because of pressure from the share-croppers' union, has held up rental and benefit payments to one of the most obdurate planters while his attempted eviction of many tenant families is under review. But the basic problem remains. It is impossible to reduce acreage 40 per cent without reducing the number of tenant farmers. What shall they do? Swell the army of the unemployed in the cities or remain in wretched hovels on the land with no income except from occasional labor at fifty cents or a dollar a day? The plight of the share-croppers presents one of the most dangerous and acute problems in the country. Only a fundamental change in the plantation system can solve it.

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Issues and Men

Hitler After the Saar

THAT the overwhelming vote in the Saar and the return to Germany strengthened Hitler and the Nazis admits of no doubt. There will be a recrudescence of Nazi enthusiasm—and not only in Germany. We shall undoubtedly see a flaring up of the Nazi movement in Austria, which must be Hitler's next objective in his plan of building in Central Europe the greatest German power ever witnessed. Just who owns Hitler today it is difficult to say. The great industrialists as a whole, of course, are in control; and Schacht is becoming more and more powerful, not only because of his great ability and his economic shrewdness, but because he is successfully eliminating those who oppose his policies and those who, like Gottfried Feder, stood for the original National Socialist program. As for the position of the Reichswehr, that remains in doubt. Since the extraordinary conclave of Nazi party leaders and army and navy officers at the State Opera House in Berlin at the beginning of the year, it has been accepted that the Reichswehr has won complete supremacy in the defense field, with the special Hitler troops—the S. S.—and what remains of the Storm Troopers—the S. A.—subordinated to it.

Sensational newspapers here and elsewhere prophesied before the Saar vote that there would be another bloody purge of the Nazi Party when the Saar was out of the way. There is no evidence to prove that this is on the boards at present, but one of the most competent American observers is of the opinion that there will be another convulsion within the Nazi Party in February or March. The conflict between those poor dupes of Hitler who really thought that he meant what he said when he promised them a Socialist program and those who stand with their leaders cannot be ended by terror. The only planks of his platform that Hitler has really lived up to are those relating to the Jews; everything else is in abeyance, and if anyone questions him about it, he is in a position to recall the number of times he has said that the party must have at least five years to put through its program—it will be easy enough to find other excuses when the five years are up. Meanwhile he continues to stress that there are 3,410,000 fewer unemployed than there were when he took office, though the number of the jobless increased by 252,000 during December, with the total standing at 2,604,000. Even Hitler only claims that 2,500,000 have been regularly employed at regular wages. The rest of the reduction is accounted for by the number working at nominal wages in the labor camps and as farm and domestic helpers. The gain in employment has been chiefly due to the rearming of Germany, the making of munitions, guns, airplanes, and so on. Also, large numbers of persons—Communists, Socialists, Jews—were thrown off the roster and have to find a means of living as best they can. Even the Institute for Business Research admits that the domestic boom created by the government through credit inflation is slowing down, chiefly because of the growing shortage of raw material, which is beginning to be more and more serious despite the legerdemain of Schacht. The latest letters from Germany seem to indicate a growing unrest because of the continuation of the economic distress.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that Hitler's own position has as yet been shaken in any degree. The callousness of the German people as a whole to the blood purge of June 30 remains inexplicable. True, there is evidence of an increase in outspoken criticism. One hears of men criticizing the regime freely in public restaurants without lowering their voices. It is known that there is growing unrest among the editors of what is left of the press of the country. Occasionally through the dispatches we hear of prominent men being sent to prison, as was the distinguished scholar and philosopher Professor Johannes Leisegang of the University of Jena, who was jailed at the beginning of December for having said that Hitler's speech at the bier of Hindenburg was only electioneering, and that it was "a dishonor for a common soldier to deliver the funeral oration for a Field Marshal." Professor Karl Barth got off without a prison sentence but he lost his professorship at Bonn chiefly because of his failure to give the Hitler salute at the beginning and close of every lecture!

As for the Jews, their plight is worse than ever, and Americans must not be misled as to this by the inability of our newspapers to print details. As one correspondent has pointed out, the Nazis have improved their diabolical technique and no longer allow as much news of their repressions to come out. But we have recently received some facts in the report of the first year's activities of the Jewish Central Committee in Germany, which was created in the summer of 1933. The committee estimates that 60,000 German Jews and 25,000 of foreign citizenship have left the country. About 2,000 Jewish civil employees of university training have been discharged, and about 4,000 Jewish lawyers have been ousted from the profession. Some 4,000 Jewish physicians also have been forbidden to act as panel doctors, or have been discharged from positions in hospitals and public and private institutions. No fewer than 2,000 of these are now in need of charity. Eight hundred Jewish professors have been expelled from the universities, practically all of the 1,200 journalists and writers have been discharged or forbidden to publish any work, and 2,000 Jewish actors, singers, and vaudeville artists are debarred from earning a living. Some 35,000 Jewish employees of banks, business houses, and industries have applied to the committee for aid, together with 90,000 shopkeepers and other business men. Yet Dr. Wilhelm Frick, the Nazi Minister of Interior, solemnly declares that "no Jew has a right to complain of unjust treatment in Germany." The obvious and malign falsity of this statement is characteristic of the whole Nazi leadership.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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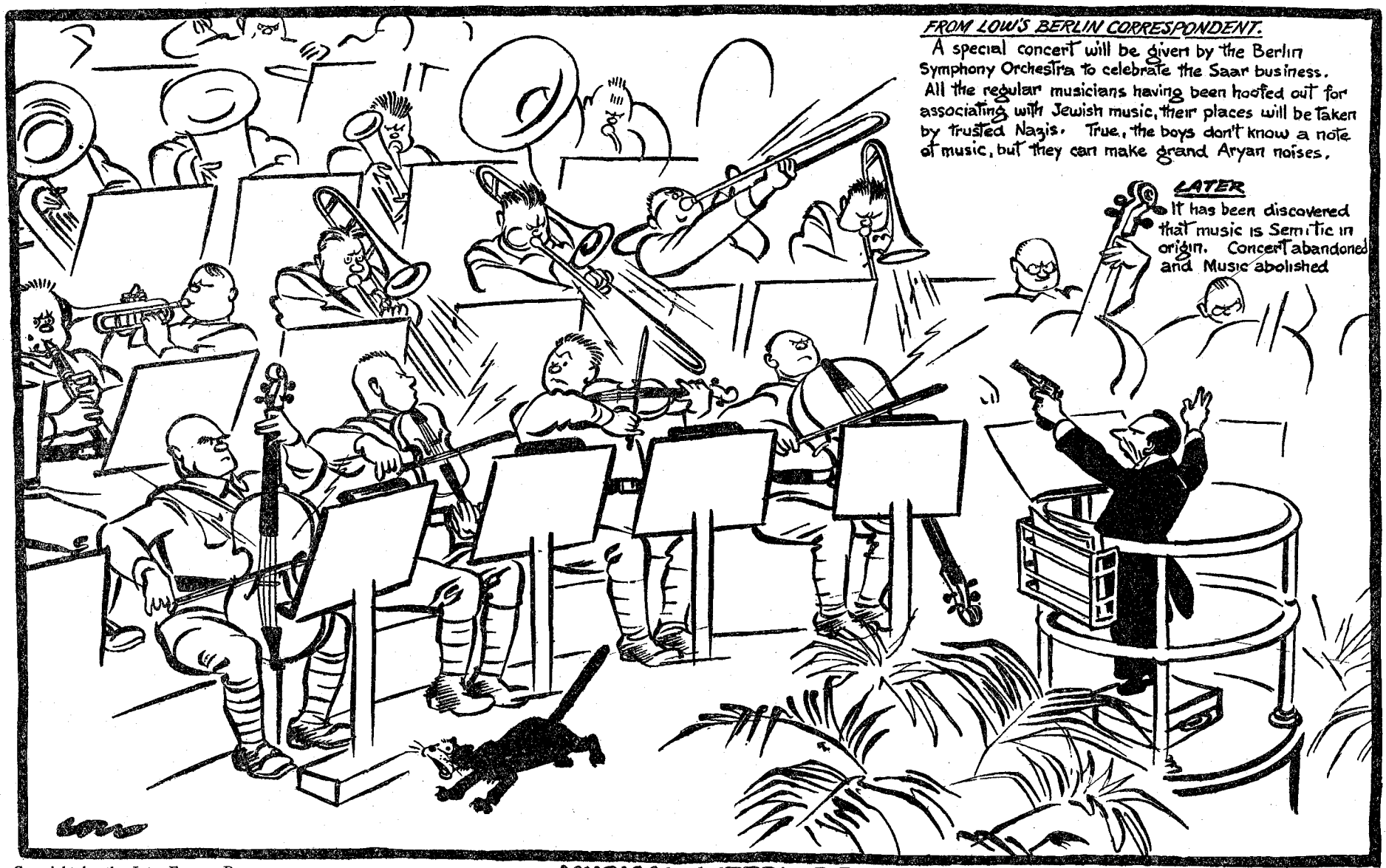
A Cartoon by LOW


FROM LOW'S BERLIN CORRESPONDENT.
A special concert will be given by the Berlin Symphony Orchestra to celebrate the Saar business. All the regular musicians having been hoofed out for associating with Jewish music, their places will be taken by trusted Nazis. True, the boys don't know a note of music, but they can make grand Aryan noises.
LATER
It has been discovered that music is Semitic in origin. Concert abandoned and Music abolished

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MUSICAL INTERLUDE.

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The Hill-Billies Come to Detroit

By LOUIS ADAMIC

Detroit, January 25

THE automobile industry, as you may have read in the daily press, is having the best beginning of a new year since 1929. The New York Automobile Show was a vast success. As I write, it is reported that similar shows, with their attractive new models, are very successful also in other large cities throughout the country. Orders are pouring into Detroit. Some of the departments of the Ford plants are working in three shifts six days a week. Several General Motors plants operate in two shifts seven days a week. Tens of thousands of men and women have been put to work in recent months in various branches of the great motor industry, and more are being employed weekly—not only in Detroit, but to a lesser extent in some of the smaller towns nearby as well. A number of Detroit boosters to whom I talked gave me glowing accounts of the sudden upswing in the industry. Things are starting to hum again: no maybe about it. They all used the word "hum." And to my question about the labor situation they replied—most of them, it is true, with a suggestion of uneasiness—that there was nothing to worry about. Yes, all was quiet. . . . No, no; absolutely no danger of a general auto strike this year, nor anything resembling real trouble.

I met several intelligent workers, one or two would-be labor leaders, some red agitators, a number of white-collar employees of automobile plants, and miscellaneous citizens of my acquaintance who are vaguely radical, progressive, or liberal and more or less informed about what is going on in Detroit's leading business. Talking with these people I became convinced that despite prophecies last year of impending trouble in 1935 there is no possibility of any great upheaval in the motor industry during the current high-production season, nor, as a matter of something a little more substantial than a guess, later in this year. But by this I do not mean that the labor situation in Detroit is anything to be happy about. It is not.

Detroit still has 52,000 families, or approximately a quarter of a million people, on various forms of relief, while there are somewhere between 50,000 and 75,000 unemployed persons in the city who, chiseling along in other ways, are not on relief. In some of the automobile plants employment lately went up as much as 100 per cent, whereas the relief burden was decreased only about 20 per cent. The explanations for this discrepancy are interesting.

For one thing, the companies have hired great numbers of girls and young women with no previous experience in the automobile industry; in many departments of the intricate but superbly organized production process no experience is necessary. These girls were given and continue to be given jobs in preference to experienced and physically better-equipped male workers. The companies' theory—no doubt very sound—is that women and girls are not as apt to join unions or become otherwise troublesome as men. And many of these new automotive workers come not from families on relief but from a slightly higher economic level—again because such persons, not having been exposed to the extreme hardships and humiliations of the jobless, are less likely to respond to labor-union agitation than the ex-unemployed.

The automobile manufacturers' labor policy is this: The industry must not be unionized, and to keep the unions from gaining a foothold, we must take every precaution and spare no expense. Among the experienced automotive workers living in Detroit and the vicinity, only those have been and are being rehired whom the plant employment managers personally know to be "safe," or who can secure personal O.K.'s from prominent citizens in Detroit, such as well-known judges and commanders of American Legion posts. Workers known to be inclined, however slightly, toward unionism or radicalism are almost generally taboo in the production department, whether on relief or not. Those hired are watched by stool pigeons, who in some plants go so far as to search the men's overcoat pockets for possible radical literature.

Apparently there is a great dearth of "safe" workers in Detroit. In recent months, with production increasing, it has been necessary for the companies to bring in tens of thousands of people from outside, principally from the South, and put them to work in the busy plants. For months now the companies have been sending their labor agents to recruit hill-billies from Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Alabama. These hill-billies are for the most part impoverished whites, "white trash" or a little better, from the rural regions. The majority of them are young fellows. They have had no close contact with modern industry or with labor unionism—this, of course, is their best qualification. Their number in Detroit is variously estimated as between fifteen and thirty thousand, with more of them coming weekly, not only in company-chartered buses but singly and in small groups on their own hook, for no one has a better chance of employment in Detroit these days than a Southerner of unsophisticated mien. They are employed at simple, standardized tasks in production departments, for which very little or no training is necessary, at 45 or 50 cents an hour, except in Ford's, where the wages are slightly higher. These workers are happy to receive this pay and are much "safer" —for the next few months, anyhow, while big production is on—than local labor, poisoned by ideas of unionism and perhaps even more dangerous notions.

The hill-billies, with their extremely low standard of living and lack of acquaintance with modern plumbing, are looked down upon by all but the most intelligent local workers, both native and foreign-born; they are despised also —indeed, mainly—because they take employment away from the old-time automotive workers. This, naturally, is agreeable to the geniuses running the Automobile Chamber of Commerce. In fact, it is exactly what they want. It splits the workers still more. Any kind of solidarity between these newcomers and old-time Detroiters is out of the question in the immediate future. It takes an American worker a long while to assimilate the union idea; and these unfortunate Southerners—though just now most of them consider themselves extremely fortunate—are nothing if not Americans.

It is all very, very clever, and it will take the labor

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movement, such as it is, some time to devise the strategy and tactics to cope effectively with this latest of dirty tricks played upon the workers by the automobile tycoons and their brain-guys. Individual proletarians, however, already are inventing counter-tricks. To crash a job at a plant one man I know practiced up on the Southern dialect and drawl, then presented himself at the factory gates, and was hired as soon as he opened his mouth. Another good way for a man to get a job in Detroit, I am told, is to look and act stupid.

Do the people of Detroit as a whole know about this importation of workers from the South? The newspapers, I have been informed, never mention it. Naturally not. They are strongly in favor of the automobile industry remaining open shop. The same is true of important people in the city in general. Anything is justified to keep out the unions, which to them signify only trouble. They are willing to contribute to relief; they are willing to do almost anything to keep the industry from being "strangled to death by the unions." Of course, most of the big people deny that the companies are importing outsiders wholesale. An important engineer of a great body plant, however, said to me: "The industry's been in the red for years. Now for the first time since the depression began it looks as though a nice profit is probable. Can't you see the manufacturers' point of view? Can you blame them, things being as they are, if they take precautions—if they insure themselves against possible interference with production? True, some of the people brought into the city will be 'dumped,' as you say, into the lap of Detroit when high production ends in April or May, but what is more important to Detroit—the fact that the industry goes on humming uninterrupted or the danger that the city will have ten or fifteen thousand more relief cases in May? Anyhow, I believe that both the city and the industry figure that they'll deal with that in May. No use crossing bridges till you come to them. That's the American way." He smiled. I said that it seemed to me a bit cruel to bring in these people from the South, then dump them. "That may be true in some cases," was the answer, "but in a big thing like this and in serious times like the present you can't worry about that. The automobile industry is the most important industry in the country. The prosperity of other important industries depends on it."

The middle-class and lower-middle-class people are more or less aware of the importations of workers but are too full of troubles of their own to try to do anything about them. Petty landlords and realtors who have rented their vacant houses to the hill-billies complain that their tenants, unappreciative of modern appliances, are damaging their properties. The automobile workers, particularly the unemployed, feel the angriest about the importations, but are largely helpless against them. They have no organization through which to act, no power. Their anger is directed chiefly against the hill-billies.

There is but one union in the automobile industry of any consequence, and this one of no great consequence—the Mechanics' Educational Society of America, an independent organization essentially interested only in the "aristocracy" of automotive labor, the tool-and-die men. The A. F. of L. momentarily is embarking on an "organization campaign," but anyone who knows anything in Detroit knows that the campaign is only a lot of empty motions, that in all probability the organizers are closer to the brain-guys of the Automobile Chamber of Commerce than they are to the organized workers. A number of federal unions have been formed in the past year, but none have any numerical or other strength, while scores of plants have large unions under "safe leadership."

Speed-up is the rule in nearly all plants, and big sections of automobile labor have other grievances which make them anything but anti-union, but the A. F. of L. organizers, living in good hotels and taxiing about the town, are careful to do nothing to inspire them with courage to join the union in the face of the employers' fierce and consistent opposition. In mid-February the kingpin of American labor, William Green, is expected to visit the automobile centers; the occasion doubtless will be marked by the customary geysers of blah and bluff which have marked the A. F. of L. campaign so far. The rank-and-filers will be told again to put their trust in the tried-and-true leadership of the great Federation. But it is obvious that the Federation has no desire to organize the industry. Its immediate motive is merely to prevent the appearance of some new organization which eventually might succeed in unionizing the industry and then possibly become a rival of the A. F. of L. in other fields.

The Communist Party in Detroit has a large apparatus, but owing to the Communists' serious tactical blunders in the past it is totally isolated from the masses of workers and therefore of no immediate importance. The American Workers' Party, now the Workers' Party of the United States, whose tactics were so successful in Toledo last year, is just beginning to get a foothold in Detroit, but is practically incapable of developing any real power during 1935. The tactics of the Workers' Party, I understand, will be to attend A. F. of L. mass-meetings and develop rank-and-file pressure upon the A. F. of L. "organizers."

In brief, no big movement or upheaval is possible. Possible, however, are small local blow-ups. The only important plant in the automobile industry which is effectively organized is the Auto-Lite in Toledo, the scene of the serious strike last spring led by the aggressive A. W. P. strike tacticians. The federal union there, I am told, is in better condition now than it was when the strike was called last year. Its leadership is more militant and vastly more intelligent than it was early in 1934. It is under the influence of the A. W. P. A new explosion in Toledo is possible. The managers of Auto-Lite, at any rate, seem to think so. This time last year they employed about two thousand workers. Today their working force is over five thousand. The explanation is not only that production has gone up generally but that Auto-Lite fears a possible shut-down in March or April. If a new strike occurs in Toledo, it probably will be fiercer and bloodier than the last. Behind Auto-Lite will be, as in the last strike, the power of the entire automobile industry, while on the workers' side will be much of the militancy developed in the 1934 struggle and vastly more experienced leadership. The most important factor working against the strike is the general socio-economic situation in Toledo, which has improved somewhat in the last five months, superficially at any rate. Fundamentally the situation is practically the same. One out of every three and a half persons in the city is still on relief, and it must be remembered that it was the unemployed who so largely contributed to the fury of the 1934 incident.

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Social Security in Great Britain

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

SOCIAL insurance in Great Britain had a stormy birth and has led an embattled life. Now that the system is established, unemployment insurance in particular having been fundamentally overhauled last year, the completed whole is much more like a full-grown complex city, let us say, than a lucid scale-drawing of plans. Certain elements in it are easy to pick out and describe, but a detailed and accurate study requires involved explanations of how some of its features came to take their present form. These explanations are important if one is to understand the scheme, and yet they are irrelevant if the scheme is to be used in comparing standards with those of another country. The British system even has a vocabulary of its own, part of it incomprehensible here. And the history of British social legislation, since much of it was devised to modify purely local adaptations of the insurance idea, makes tediously dry reading to all but specialists.

The British security program was enacted in three separate steps. First came small non-contributory old-age pensions for those over seventy and without more than a very low minimum income. This was enacted in 1908. It was essentially a relief measure, taking the place of private charity, then widely organized for this purpose. This was a prelude to the great insurance venture of 1911, when Great Britain embarked on health and unemployment insurance. It was only a partial beginning of unemployment insurance, but the health-insurance scheme was full-fledged and embraced the entire working population on a basis which stands today without major alteration. Contributory old-age pensions and pensions for widows and orphans were added in 1925.

The conception prevalent in this country until recently that British social insurance was the creation of British Socialists is altogether wrong. When Britain went off the gold standard, after a minority Labor government had been in office, many fell into the error of charging socialism with the responsibility of wrecking the British budget through unemployment insurance, and thus destroying British credit. But even at this time Britain had no Socialist government. It had a Labor government which did not command a majority in Parliament and could remain in office only by refraining from any truly Socialist efforts. The British scheme of social security must be written to the credit of Liberals and Conservatives. Labor governments managed for a time to liberalize payments and regulations, but they did not initiate anything essential in the scheme itself. Liberals are responsible for nearly all of it. Asquith was Prime Minister in 1908, when the first pension act was passed. Lloyd George was the Chancellor of the Exchequer who forced through health and unemployment insurance in 1911. And Winston Churchill, then a recent convert to conservatism, was the Tory Chancellor who in 1925 made old-age pensions contributory and added pensions for widows and orphans.

It may be that social security can be enacted in the United States without the long and strong conflict it has had to endure in Great Britain. Lloyd George's espousal of the principle in 1911 shook London to its foundations, and the hostility between him and the financial interests led to murmurs of revolt, even revolution. The growth of the system was immeasurably facilitated by the outbreak of the World War. Insurance as an issue was forgotten. By the end of the war it was working, and was at hand to help solve some of the terrifying problems of demobilization. But the struggle was often resumed after the depression of 1921, and since then has become at times a bitter one between the niggardly policy of the Conservatives and the demand of Labor for a decent living standard as a right of citizenship.

The British scheme was changed last year in one fundamental which in a way compares with present-day thought in this country. A distinction was accepted between employables and unemployables, and separate treatment was provided for each class. Employables in the British act are called "able-bodied unemployed persons in need of relief." But whereas the President's program intends to employ such persons in public-works projects at depressed wages, the British attitude is wholly different. In Great Britain relief is paid in cash in almost all cases. The government accepts responsibility for employables even if they are not protected by unemployment insurance—agricultural workers and domestic servants are still excluded from insurance, though plans are being drawn for the inclusion of agricultural workers. The scheme takes in even the non-manual (white-collar) workers with less than $1,250 income a year who are not in business for themselves. This is the first assumption of responsibility for employables as a whole by the central government. It formerly rested with local authorities, the county and borough officials, and relief might be administered generously in a radical county and ungenerously in a tory one, or be dangerously inadequate because of shortage of funds. Now the purpose is to establish unemployment insurance and relief on a sound basis, administer it by permanent officials not directly responsible to Parliament, and remove the whole system from the domain of politics. The funds for the relief of employables are theoretically contributed by the local authorities in conjunction with the government. But the greater part of the burden, about 95 per cent, is borne by the national treasury.

A "means test" is applied to those in receipt of such relief, but the conditions laid down are more generous than they were before the act was passed. Thus if a man owns a house, he is not required to borrow on it or sell it. If a person has money from health insurance, the first $1.75 is not counted, nor is any maternity benefit, nor the first $5 of a war pension, nor one-half of workmen's compensation, nor the first $125 invested or in cash. The amount of the allowance will vary according to need, and in certain cases will be even greater than the unemployment-insurance benefit.

To come now to the essentials of the British insurance system. Unemployment insurance is to be distinguished from relief and is contributory. The employer pays one-third of the cost on the theory that he benefits from maintaining his labor reserves; the worker contributes one-third on the

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theory that he is making an enforced saving to protect him against the slumps of the trade cycle; the state pays one-third to justify its use of compulsion in setting up the scheme. Contributions vary for age and sex groups. Men pay 20 cents a week, women 18 cents, boys from 10 to 18 cents, girls from 9 to 16 cents. Benefits begin after a waiting period of six days and continue for twenty-six weeks, though the time is extended if the applicant has a long insurance record, and can be as long as a year. Single men receive in benefits $4.25 a week, women $3.75, boys from $1.50 to $3.50, and girls from $1.25 to $3. Allowance for an adult dependent is $2.25 and for each dependent child 50 cents. Thus a married man with four children draws $8.50 a week, or twice the amount for a single man.

Theoretically, the British scheme operates through a national chain of labor exchanges, which it was hoped would become the chief agency in placing people in jobs. The exchanges are of great service, since they are the local administrative offices of the system. But only about one-fourth of the jobs have been filled through the exchanges, and while resort to them by employers has increased, this feature has been a disappointment and remains a weakness in the plan.

Health insurance in Great Britain is less discussed than unemployment insurance, but it has been a notable success. The unemployment-insurance fund is notoriously in debt, but the health-insurance system is financially sound and today derives more than 18 per cent of its income from interest on investments. But the success is due in part to conditions in Great Britain prior to 1911 which cannot be duplicated elsewhere. Nearly half the workers at that time were members of private societies which provided health insurance in one form or other. And when the state scheme was adopted, it was built on the foundation of these approved or "friendly" societies. Some of them had large reserves, and today some societies are able to pay out a wider range of benefits than others. Every insured person either belongs to a society —which the greater part choose to do—or his contributions go into a postal-savings account, which can give him only sparing returns. The friendly societies are non-profit-making and are under strict supervision of the government. The state collects the contributions and apportions them to the societies for the distribution of benefits.

As with unemployment insurance, the contribution is made for the worker by his employer—it is by a system of stamps on a card—and the employer, worker, and state pay a share. A man pays 9 cents a week to his employer's 9 cents; a woman pays 8 cents to her employer's 9 cents, and the state pays one-seventh of the benefit given the man and one-fifth of the benefit to the woman. Benefits are of two kinds, cash and services. A man receives $3.75 a week while sick, a spinster $3, a married woman $2.50. There is a smaller disablement benefit, $1.87 for a man, $1.50 for a spinster, and $1.25 for a married woman. An insured wife gets a $10 maternity benefit. There is sanitarium treatment for tuberculosis patients, and societies with surpluses are able to add dental care, treatment by specialists, home nursing, hospital care, and even distress grants. In addition, every insured person has all "proper and necessary" treatment from a physician free of charge, as well as needed drugs.

This last aspect of medical care was fought by the British physicians at the beginning, and is still resisted by some. Doctors are not compelled, however, to serve insurance patients. They are rewarded if they do by a payment of so much per person under their care, and the average income of "panel" doctors from this part of their practice in 1929 was $2,100. Many complaints are made by patients that panel doctors keep them waiting intolerable hours, but the wider observation is that doctors have an opportunity to treat minor complaints and watch for early symptoms which ultimately reduces their work and greatly benefits their patients.

The health-insurance scheme as it now stands cares for over 17,000,000 persons, all of them entitled to the minimum benefits described. Of this number 12,500,000 have in addition dental care, 11,500,000 have free or cheapened optical treatment, 11,000,000 receive surgical appliances free, 10,000,000 are entitled to part cost of convalescence homes, 7,500,000 receive part cost of hospital treatment, and 5,000,000 can have home nursing for serious illness.

To Americans the British old-age, widows', and orphans' pension scheme will sound grossly inadequate. With the figures of Dr. Townsend and Huey Long ringing in our ears, the weekly $2.50 paid to a man or woman at sixty-five becomes almost absurd. And to receive an old-age pension a man must have contributed 9 cents a week to his employer's 9 cents, a woman 4 cents to her employer's 5 cents, and the government makes up the difference in cost. The widow receives the full $2.50, and the pensioner's orphan $1.87. A widow also has $1.25 for her eldest child and 75 cents for each other child.

Had the system started out with a fund to make it self-liquidating the government would have had to find $3,000,000,000 at the outset. It chose instead to pay out of current revenue what was needed each year. Even after the whole population is in the scheme, making contributions from childhood, the government in eighty years will be contributing an annual subsidy of $438,000,000 or about one-seventh of the present British budget. This scheme was added to social security by Winston Churchill, and at the outset it was looked upon with much enthusiasm. Tories preened themselves on being disciples of Disraeli and having a progressive social outlook. But when their financial experts began studying its future, many of them changed their minds, and I believe if the Conservative Party had it to do over again, it would leave old-age pensions strictly alone.

What is hard to explain in a country without a working security system is the difference it makes in the state of mind of a country. The mental background of the British is more peaceful than ours, not because of pride in the rising level of humanity, but because of the greatly enhanced safety. The social system, they feel there, has been fundamentally rebuilt though they still have a capitalist society. What is more, the security system is regarded not as a transition to a new Socialist order but as essential to the preservation of capitalism. The establishment of the system is recognized as the biggest thing the country has done in a generation. And many believe that Lloyd George, who is more responsible for it than any other individual, will be placed higher for it in history than for his leadership in helping win the war. And from conversation with him on this point I can say that he thinks so himself.

[*This is the second of a series of four articles analyzing the approach to social security in various countries. The third, on social insurance in the Scandinavian countries, will appear in an early issue.*]

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The White House Breaks with Labor

Washington, February 4

DONALD RICHBERG came out of the President's office at the White House last Wednesday with Clay Williams, president of the NIRB, and Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., and Walter P. Chrysler, the automobile manufacturers. The manufacturers hurried away to escape the waiting newspapermen. Richberg, his arms up over his head, playfully made as though to charge through them, then laughingly pulled up. It was the buffoonery of a prominent man who shows that he can be one of the boys. He was asked if he had any statement to make. The automobile code was to expire the next night, and everyone knew it had been under discussion. "We have had a series of conferences with all parties concerned," began Mr. Richberg, but he was interrupted. "Including labor?" spoke up an incredulous voice. "Yes." "Who for labor?" the voice pressed. "I won't make any statement about that," said Mr. Richberg, obviously annoyed, and went on to say that the news about the code would be given out by Mr. Williams at nine o'clock that night.

The scene, with its false good cheer and Mr. Richberg's prevarication about the consultation with labor, was characteristic of the deception and superficiality with which the amended code was imposed on the industry. Labor was not consulted. Later the President explained that he knew the attitude of labor because he had had letters a month before. Mr. Richberg, however, again and again asserted categorically that labor had been consulted, and Mr. Williams concurred, though neither would name the labor representative. A newspaperman told Mr. Richberg that Mr. Green and Mr. Dillon (of the automobile workers' union) both denied that labor had been consulted. "I don't believe it," he said. "You believe that they were consulted, or you don't believe they denied it?" the correspondent asked. "I don't believe that they denied it." It was strange for newspapermen to be called mendacious, and most of them had heard the denial of Green and Dillon. Mr. Richberg apparently was satisfied that a month-old letter was a consultation, in the kind of intellectual hide-and-seek which certain men and women in high places play with truth. Subsequently even the President took a hand in the befuddlement by saying at his press conference that the Wolman board had not been incorporated in the code as an amendment, though there it was, amendment number four, for all to read. Only one explanation of the President's denial is possible, and pitiful as it may be it is the most charitable explanation to be made of the whole episode of the code. The President did not realize what he was doing or remember accurately what he had done. He had been told that the automobile workers themselves were in favor not of the A. F. of L. or company unions but of works councils, and so he believed he could dismiss the A. F. of L. without injustice. Since he saw no labor officials he could not learn that Dr. Leo Wolman had chosen for elections those plants where the unions were weak, and could not inquire to what extent the order of the union to boycott the election was being obeyed. He is in that dangerous position, also occupied by Frances Perkins, of considering himself a benefactor of labor, hence above cooperation with it and certainly above criticism.

The President's disregard of organized labor is not the only astonishing feature of the imposed code. To carry through his agreement with the manufacturers he had to override the NIRB, which is in charge of all codes since the departure of General Johnson. This board consists of five men, S. Clay Williams and Arthur D. Whiteside representing the employers, Sidney Hillman and Leon C. Marshall representing labor, and Walton H. Hamilton representing the consumers. Leon Henderson, director of research and planning, and Blackwell Smith, general counsel, are members without votes. The amendments were sent from the White House to this board, which stood five to two against them, the employer members opposed to the rest. The Wolman board was not the only basis of the NIRB's objections. It saw in the amendments of the hours provisions the sabotage of the whole campaign to shorten hours in industry. The arrangement is not what it looks to be. It seems to give to 80 per cent of the workers an average of forty-hour weeks through a year, allowing forty-eight hours a week to be worked at certain periods, with over-time rates not effective until more than forty-eight hours are worked. But as the average working time in a year is not much more than five months, this means that these men are made to work forty-eight hours when they do work, and the forty-hour week is a myth. The tool-and-die makers, one-fifth of all workers, who prepare machinery for making new models, have an average forty-two-hour week under the code, and they alone draw over-time pay. What the board proposed was to bring this class into the forty-hour average, and have over time for them and all other workers begin after forty-two hours. The President and Mr. Richberg would not hear of it. They went ahead, amended the code on the forty-eight-hour basis, and left the shorter-hour campaign of the NRA on a siding. The NIRB saw the folly of forcing the Wolman board upon labor and proposed to change it by giving it the structure and legal standing of the steel and textile boards existing under Public Resolution No. 44. This was not an ideal solution but it at least gave labor something different from the Wolman board, which it openly refuses to use. But this serviceable suggestion also was unheeded at the White House.

The first result has been to put labor into a needed mood of self-service. It has given up the sneaking hope that the Santa in the White House might go on bringing gifts after Christmas. There will be a strike in the automobile industry, and it will be bitter, since it will be the first openly anti-Administration strike under the New Deal. In Washington labor moves its battleground from the White House to the Hill. It is going after legislation and believes that Congress is to the left of the President on labor policy. The A. F. of L. ought to have organized the automobile industry a hundred per cent as its first privilege, but it went about the task with a defeatist psychology. Now the great face-slap by the President has sent the blood of labor leaders tingling.

R. G. S.

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In the Driftway

THE Drifter had somehow overlooked the Dobuans until Margaret Mead, reviewing Ruth Benedict's "Patterns of Culture" in *The Nation,* referred to them casually but succinctly as "the morose paranoid Dobuans of New Guinea." Having read Mrs. Benedict's book, the Drifter can report that his most sadistic expectations were realized. The Dobuans, whom Miss Mead described in her cool scientific phrase, are, in a layman's word, the meanest people on earth; and as such their activities have all the horrible fascination of one of those Laurel and Hardy comedies which progress from disaster to disaster and end in utter destruction—as spectators howl with delight.

* * * * *

COMPETITION is the moving force of life in Dobu. And it has been developed to such a point that social forms, to quote Mrs. Benedict, "put a premium upon ill-will and treachery and make of them the recognized virtues of their society." Hostility is the common social attitude and a smiling countenance is frowned upon with a frown of which only a Dobuan is capable.

> Dobuan social organization is arranged in concentric circles, within each of which specified traditional forms of hostility are allowed. No man takes the law into his own hands except to carry out these culturally allowed hostilities within the appropriate specified group. The largest functioning Dobuan grouping is a named locality of some four to twenty villages. It is the war unit and is on terms of permanent international hostility with every other similar locality.

There *is* one group, called the susu, the group of the mother's line, which is allowed to practice a limited internal harmony. But its larger social function is to increase hostility, particularly between husbands and wives and between fathers and children, who may meet after the mother's death only by invitation of the susu. Needless to say, the Dobuans find in marriage the greatest scope for their unusual talents, and Mrs. Benedict's account could not be improved.

> Marriage, of course, must be with someone outside [the susu]. It remains within the locality and therefore it allies two villages between which enmity runs high. . . . Marriage is set in motion by a hostile act of the mother-in-law. She blocks with her own person the door of her house, within which the youth is sleeping with her daughter, and he is trapped for the public ceremony of betrothal.

The marriage ceremony itself is a very unfriendly and dour affair at which each bridal group pretends not to see the other or "if they must notice the other party, they glare with hostility." Husband and wife are allowed to live together, but only at a terrible price. From marriage until death the couple live in alternate years in the village of the husband and the village of the wife, and by tradition the unlucky spouse who is on alien territory must accept humiliation as his due. He is a perpetual outsider until the next year, when he may retaliate—and does.

> The village in which the couple are living at the moment is seldom satisfied with the behavior of the spouse who has married in. . . . Faithfulness is not expected between husband and wife. . . . adultery is a favorite pastime. . . . It is a matter of profoundest concern to the outraged spouse. He (it is as likely to be she) bribes the children for information. . . . He quarrels with [his wife] violently and no quarrel can go unheard in Dobu. . . .

Thus even the virtuous-sounding requirement that a husband and wife maintain a common domicile becomes in Dobu merely another incentive to hostility; for circumstances make the common domicile so difficult that it often destroys the marriage.

* * * * *

THE Drifter has quoted enough to give some idea of the charming life of the Dobuans (and to indicate the fascination of Mrs. Benedict's book.) Needless to say, their business relationships among themselves—they are mostly concerned with yams—as well as with other peoples are characterized by lying, double-dealing, in fact, every simple or subtle form of treachery. The Drifter feels it would be superfluous also to point obvious morals. It remains to be said that the Dobuans, like the citizens of more civilized countries, are victims of an economy of scarcity. Their islands are bare volcanic upcroppings; and their population is much too large for their resources. Competition, by insuring the greatest harm to the greatest number, tends to keep the population down. Finally, it must be pointed out that the economy of scarcity to which Dobuan meanness can be traced differs in one important respect from the scarcity to be met with, say, in America: it is natural and not man-made.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Elect Maurice Sugar!

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

An unusual opportunity is facing Detroit workers and all progressive people in the non-partisan elections for judge of the Recorder's Court to be held on March 4. The entire labor movement from right to left has joined in supporting the candidacy of Maurice Sugar, who for more than twenty years has been Michigan's foremost labor attorney. Mr. Sugar has been indorsed by the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, the Mechanics' Educational Society of America, the Society of Designing Engineers, the Trade Union Unity League, the Communist Party, the International Labor Defense, and numerous other groups. These organizations, so widely divergent in aims and tactics, are all agreed that the election of Maurice Sugar would greatly further the cause of labor. We believe that this accord is unique not only in the history of the Detroit labor movement, but of the American labor movement as a whole.

Mr. Sugar has a record of which any man might be proud. He is not of that dubious group that style themselves —especially before elections—"friends of labor." He is *of* the labor movement, has been completely identified with it throughout his distinguished legal career, has fought and made sacrifices in defense of the rights of labor. In more than twenty years of practice Mr. Sugar has represented labor organizations of every economic and political complexion, but never once an employer as such. During the war he was of that valiant band who risked their all in opposing the war hysteria; as a result, he spent a year in prison. Today he is continuing the fight against reaction as a leading member of the American League Against War and Fascism.

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Here are some of the outstanding labor cases in which he has appeared:

He exposed the reactionary interests behind the bill to register and finger-print foreign-born persons, which was rushed through the 1931 Michigan legislature. As a result of this fight the Federal Court declared the bill unconstitutional.

As attorney for Jesse Crawford, Negro worker, he won the fight to prevent his extradition to the Georgia chain gang (January, 1933).

He secured an injunction (January, 1933) to prevent the Board of Education and the city government from diverting $2,000,000 from teachers' salaries and schools to pay interest to Wall Street bankers.

He is attorney in the Michigan Red Flag case now pending in the state Supreme Court, in which two workers are facing long imprisonment because a red flag was raised in a Finnish workers' children's camp where they were instructors.

He successfully defended James Victory, Negro worker, who faced life imprisonment last summer on a framed charge of having attacked and robbed a white woman.

In all these cases, as in hundreds of others, Mr. Sugar served without fee. On various occasions he has acted as attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense. *Nation* readers will recall Mr. Sugar as the author of Michigan Passes the "Spolansky Act" in the issue of July 8, 1931, and of Bullets—Not Food—for Ford Workers in that of March 23, 1932.

While all progressive forces in Detroit are united to elect Maurice Sugar, the forces of reaction, dominated by the open-shop automobile companies, are equally united to prevent it, and they have powerful backing, political and financial, as well as a press that is always at their service. Because we feel that the fight to elect the first militant labor judge in the country has more than local significance, we are appealing to labor organizations and to all progressive and liberal people everywhere to help. Funds are urgently needed to carry on an effective campaign. Those who desire to make contributions can send them to the campaign headquarters, 1010 Barlum Tower, Detroit, Michigan.

Detroit, February 1 N. J. Bicknell, M.D., Chairman
Maurice Sugar Campaign Committee

The Carl Mackley Apartments

To the Editors of The Nation:

The paragraph in *The Nation* of January 16 describing the Carl Mackley Apartments built by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers in Philadelphia, while correct in the main, is apt to give a misleading impression.

A personal visit to the apartments revealed that a five-room apartment rents for $52.50 a month and the lowest rent available is $25.50 per month for two rooms and bath. While the rooms are, as you say, well lighted and ventilated, they are very small. Electric current for all purposes is included in the rent but the electric refrigerator must be provided by the tenant. People from the slums cannot afford such rents, and since no slums were cleared away for these buildings, the project can hardly be called slum clearance. Actually, more desirable accommodations can be obtained for less money right in the center of the city, while the new project entails thirty-five minutes' riding by elevated. Up to a week ago only twelve of the 284 units had been rented. The enterprise, after all is a purely speculative one. Whether it can be made "self-liquidating" is questionable. The Hosiery Workers are exactly on the plane of a private contractor who builds with the hope of making a profit.

Hosiery workers are among the aristocrats of labor, both in their hours of labor and their rates of pay. They, perhaps, can afford to pay such rents. Certainly labor in Philadelphia as a whole cannot. As "a challenge to labor the country over to seek improved living conditions," the Mackley houses simply will not function.

Philadelphia, January 14 Thomas C. Shaffer

Grateful for the Truth

To the Editors of The Nation:

At a general meeting of the San Francisco Bay Newspaper Guild on January 20 the membership unanimously voted a resolution of thanks and appreciation to *The Nation* for its courage in printing the article Not Fit to Print.

The newspapermen and women of the San Francisco Bay region, who have been waging a desperate struggle for guild existence in the face of heart-breaking pressure, are grateful for an article in which the facts are unvarnished, the truth clearly apparent. We feel particularly encouraged because *The Nation* has not been muzzled by two-faced publishers who scream "freedom of the press" in the morning and spend the afternoon hiring $15 a week reporters, cutting wages to starvation levels, and throwing veteran men into the street because they didn't wear the right-color necktie.

Once more, therefore, the San Francisco Bay Newspaper Guild expresses deep appreciation to the editors of *The Nation*.

San Francisco, January 23 Dean S. Jennings,
Executive Secretary American Newspaper Guild

Correction from Toledo

To the Editors of The Nation:

In an item which appeared in the Labor Section of *The Nation* of January 16 relative to the federal Automobile Workers' Union in Toledo, it was incorrectly stated that the workers in the Auto-Lite plant are all organized in this union, and that it is controlled by the progressive block, which is controlled in turn by the local Workers' Party members.

The facts are that the union has just completed a bitter internal fight in which Thomas Ramsey and Floyd Bossler, former reactionary leaders, have been deposed and progressives elected in their places. The union is now faced with a fierce battle in the Auto-Lite plant against company unionism. Out of 5,000 employees about 2,000 are members of the federal union, 2,000 are members of the Auto-Lite Council, the company union, and 1,000 are unaffiliated. While Workers' Party members and Unemployed League members are active and prominent in the union and have a good influence, these groups by no means control the organization, and it is entirely incorrect to assert that they do. We are the first to acknowledge this.

Toledo, Ohio, January 28 Art Preis,
Secretary Toledo Branch of Workers' Party

Simon Nelson Patten

To the Editors of The Nation:

I am making a study of the life and sociological ideas of the late Simon Nelson Patten. I would appreciate hearing from persons having any biographical information or Patten letters.

Philip E. Keller

Stanford University, Cal., January 30

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Labor and Industry

An Army with Banners

By HEYWOOD BROUN

SECTION 7-a, which theoretically protects the worker in his right to join an organization of his own choosing, has produced a great deal of strife and litigation and not a little drama. Admittedly it has not worked well, and some ascribe the difficulty to a certain vagueness in the phrasing. I doubt if this is the seat of the trouble. The baldest and plainest statement would still be fought by most employers, since unionization has always been a matter of victory won and never of a boon merely granted. It is quite true that certain business men are willing to testify that they get along very well with the unions in their industry and on the whole prefer the set-up. But that is only after they were compelled to accept the condition. The silliest question an organizer can ask is to inquire of a boss, "Have you any objections if I attempt to organize your shop?"

If the government were in a position to say that in all 7-a disputes it had maintained a rigid neutrality, that would be a pretty fair boast. Unfortunately, it would not be true. In many instances the actual machinery of the NRA has been used to break down an employee victory. I need only cite the Jennings case. Some will argue that a broken promise is better than no promise at all, and it must be admitted that in the early days of the New Deal 7-a was an excellent talking point for some union leaders. It did help in the formation of the American Newspaper Guild. As soon as the brief honeymoon was over, many organized groups were faced with a problem in popular psychology. It is as simple as this: Do men and women fight harder when they learn that they have been fooled or do they grow discouraged and quit?

In my opinion the former reaction has been true of the great majority of newspaper men and women. A catchword used effectively by the publishers as far back as I can remember is now turning to their disadvantage. On August 7, 1909, I asked for a raise for the first time. My salary on the *Morning Telegraph* was $20 a week. I wanted to get $22.50. W. E. Lewis, the editor of the paper, received me in kindly fashion but he admitted that he was a little bit shocked. Mr. Lewis pointed out that I was only twenty years old and that twenty dollars a week should be ample. I felt glad that I had not started work at the age of eight.

He told me that the job of reporter was the most glamorous occupation a young man could have. At my age Richard Harding Davis, whom he had known intimately, was receiving only $15 a week. Editors, he assured me, were always anxious to reward good service but they did not like to have their reporters thinking of their opportunities in terms of money.

I went away feeling thoroughly ashamed of myself. Somehow I had disgraced the craft. What would Richard Harding Davis have said? Not until a year later did I ask for the raise again and then I was fired. Possibly I was more naive than most cubs but there really was a general feeling that we were curiously gifted bohemians and that it was almost a lark to be broke between pay days. Maybe the married men didn't think so.

Richard Harding Davis has been dead a long time now and many things have happened to the world including the liquidation of Van Bibber. And yet something of the old delusion of the romance and the glamor of the craft persists. It has been a factor in the organization of Guild chapters on some of the rockiest and most dangerous ledges. Nobody who attended the meeting of the staff of the Staten Island *Advance* when Alexander Crosby joined up is likely to forget the speech he made there. The city editor was present as a devil's advocate. He kept pressing on Crosby and saying, "Mr. Newhouse is treating you all right, what do you want to join this Guild for?"

And Crosby said, "I'm thinking of my soul. Don't laugh. I really am. A year ago I meant to join the Guild and got scared off. I've been thinking that if you have a right and don't use it, whether you need it that precise minute or not, you lose it for all time."

He joined and he got fired. When his case was brought before the Newspaper Industrial Board, the lawyer for the publisher cross-examined him severely.

"Why did you insist on joining the Guild at this particular time? You've already testified that the year before you decided not to join. Why was it important for you to join right at that meeting?"

"Because," said Crosby calmly, "I'd decided to quit being yellow." And there was no further cross-examination along that line.

The favorite phrase among all labor groups today is, "But we must be realistic about this." It has not gone unmentioned in Guild meetings, and I would report the psychology of the organization's members most inaccurately were I to suggest that there is a crusader complex all up and down the line. Yet since unionization is new to us it is necessarily exciting. Many have joined the Guild under circumstances which carried no threat of discharge or discrimination, but a very great number have been well aware of grave risks and still defied them. Not all the opposition has been of the terroristic kind. We have, in a few instances, the "good gray boss" to contend with. I refer to the publisher or managing editor who says, "Boys, you know I'm your friend. You can always come to me. Why do you want to mess around with new-fangled notions?"

One of the big New York papers—which I will not name for fear of embarrassing our existing chapter—is just such an Uncle Tom establishment. The staff gathered to listen to a Guild officer but before coming they had voted fifty-one against one not to affiliate with the Guild. The speaker soon sensed that his audience was hostile and asked for comments and questions from the contented workers of the plantation. They assured him that in the matter of hours and wages and everything else they could not think of a single thing which they desired.

"And so," inquired the speaker, "your attitude is that

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your own working conditions are perfect and that you do not want so much as to lift a little finger to help improve the working conditions of other newspaper men and women in America? Is that so?"

The spokesman of the happy islanders gulped a little and said, "Yes." "In that case," the Guild speaker answered, "we might as well call this meeting off."

The hand of a lone, skinny reporter shot up. "How many people do you require to start a Guild chapter?" "One," said the speaker. "You've got a chapter," said the lone reporter.—It's grown.

If romance and glamor can be used to make newspapermen accept insecurity and low pay, I insist that those same qualities may well be a factor in helping them fight their battle for just rights. And you have only to see a Newark picket line to realize that Guildsmen and Guildswomen regard themselves as members of an army with banners.

The New Deal for Share-Croppers

By WILLIAM R. AMBERSON

THE social outlook of the Secretary of Agriculture is well known, and there can be no doubt that the higher administration of the department is genuinely interested in building a better life for all classes in our farm population. Thus the authors of the 1934-35 Cotton Acreage Reduction Contract, foreseeing the possibility of economic and social disorder in connection with the operation of their program, wrote into the document a section which was presumed to be a sufficient charter for the defense and protection of the rights of agricultural laborers. Section 7 of the contract reads as follows:

> [The producer shall] endeavor in good faith to bring about the reduction of acreage contemplated in this contract in such a manner as to cause the least possible amount of labor, economic, and social disturbance, and to this end, in so far as possible, he shall effect the acreage reduction as nearly ratably as practicable among tenants on this farm; shall, in so far as possible, maintain on this farm the normal number of tenants and other employees; shall permit all tenants to continue in the occupancy of their houses on this farm, rent free, for the years 1934 and 1935 (unless any such tenant shall so conduct himself as to become a nuisance or a menace to the welfare of the producer); during such years shall afford such tenants or employees, without cost, access for fuel to such woods land belonging to this farm as he may designate; shall permit such tenants the use of an adequate portion of the rented acres to grow food and feed crops for home consumption and for pasturage of domestically used live stock; and for such use of the rented acres shall permit the reasonable use of work animals and equipment in exchange for labor.

The general intent of this section to protect cotton farm tenants and croppers from displacement is surely clear. A critical examination, however, reveals the essential weakness of its phraseology. The producer is not pledged "to bring about reduction" but only to "endeavor . . . to bring about reduction." "In so far as possible," twice repeated, and "as nearly ratably as practicable" further weaken the section, which now becomes scarcely more than a gesture of benevolence. As the section proceeds, however, it becomes stronger, permitting "all tenants to continue in . . . occupancy," and then guaranteeing access to rented acres and woods land without qualification other than the "nuisance or a menace" phrase.

The right of tenants and croppers to share in the benefit payments is guaranteed by Section 10. Here it is found that the ordinary cropper, working on a fifty-fifty basis, without tools or teams of his own, is allowed ½ cent a pound for cotton not grown in 1934 as his share of the "parity payment"; whereas the owner receives all of the "rent," 3½ cents a pound, and ½ cent of the parity payment. Concerning this curious eight-to-one division of the government benefits there has been much discussion. The croppers have aptly called their share the "poverty payment." Dr. Paul W. Bruton, formerly of the AAA legal staff, has written:

> The contract should have been drawn so that the benefit payments would have been made directly to landlords and tenants in proportion to their respective interests in the crop. . . . Under the 1934 and 1935 contract the landlord has everything to gain and the cropper everything to lose.

Recognizing the validity of such criticism, the Secretary has recently announced that in 1935 rental payments will be diminished and parity payments increased. Unless carefully administered, the actual effect of this change is likely to be very different from that intended, since a new incentive is given to unscrupulous landlords to discontinue share-cropping entirely and go over to day labor.

In the spring of 1934 a group of Memphis members and friends of the League for Industrial Democracy became interested in the operation of the reduction program as it was affecting the lives of the tenants and share-croppers. In collaboration with Norman Thomas, a survey of about 500 farm families was carried through, and the results of this study were submitted to Mr. Wallace early in May. The following conclusion was reached:

> The acreage-reduction program has operated to reduce the number of families in employment on cotton farms . . . due . . . to failure . . . to reduce acreage ratably, forcing some tenants into "no-crop" class . . . at least 15 per cent . . . of all . . . families. . . . Many plantation owners eliminate the share-cropping system . . . forcing . . . croppers to accept day labor instead. . . . Widespread replacement of white by colored labor . . .

Shortly before the submission of this report the department's own investigator, Dr. Calvin Hoover, professor of economics at Duke University, reported to the Secretary as follows:

> The operation of the acreage-reduction program creates a motive for reducing the number of tenants on farms. . . . Contracts . . . have provisions designed to prevent . . . but the system of enforcement . . . has been inadequate.

Secretary Wallace has similarly written:

> I am fully aware that acreage adjustment produces its unemployment problem just as the shutting down of factories in the cities.

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In spite of the conclusions of their own investigator, many of the officials of the Department of Agriculture refuse to recognize that the reduction program has created a new unemployment problem. Concerning this matter there can hardly be room for question, although the magnitude of the displacement of labor must indeed remain in doubt. Gordon W. Blackwell, after a study of 700 displaced farm families in North Carolina, concludes that "the fact that the landlord could no longer finance the tenant, the desire of the landlord to use the tenant as day labor rather than give him a crop, and the acreage-reduction program of AAA are the real reasons why there is a displaced-tenant problem." These findings closely parallel our own conclusions of last spring, except that in the richer Delta country there was relatively little unemployment until the winter of 1933-34, when the reduction program began to exert its influence. We believe it is fair to say that over the whole cotton belt about one-third of the present rural unemployment can be directly referred to the reduction program.

As a result of such criticism of the program the department set up an Adjustment Committee headed by J. Phil Campbell. Several thousand complaints have been referred to it and some adjustments have been made. Our committee has observed the handling of cases submitted to Mr. Wallace in May. The committee found in one case that a large plantation had replaced many white share-croppers with colored day laborers. The investigator reported that "there have been some evictions of white families, and . . . some substitution of share-croppers with day labor, but the extent . . . has been very small in proportion to the size of the operations"; as a result the plantation was cleared. In another case "it was found that a change had been made from share-croppers to day laborers, but as the croppers had been notified early in 1933 that this arrangement would be carried out in 1934, it was not considered that this change was made as a result of the cotton program." The committee holds affidavits from some of these people, all white, in which they swear that they received no notice until after January 1, 1934. Similar affidavits were submitted by them to the government investigator but were ignored. In a third case the investigator found that "the landlord had changed from share-croppers to day labor. . . . Contract suspended and cancelation recommended. . . ."

In some cases the investigations were so utterly superficial as to be valueless. A large cotton farm in eastern Arkansas, comprising some 14,000 acres, has long been notorious for its bad treatment of its tenants. Interest on "furnish" has been charged at 25 cents on the dollar—an illegal and usurious rate—when settlements were made, and few settlements have been carried out. The condition of the croppers, mostly colored, has been tragic. In one day last winter the FERA worker in the county, aghast at the condition of these people, spent $1,400 of government money to clothe and feed them. The only clothes which most of them now possess were given them by this worker. In the spring of 1934 the owners decided to change a part of this farm over to a day-labor basis. Croppers were notified that each adult worker could retain only 3½ acres on a share-crop basis. In some cases this represented a cut of 75 per cent in acreage. They were required to cultivate a large part of the plantation on a day-labor basis at 75 cents for a thirteen-hour day. Actually 35 cents only was paid over; the rest was placed in a "petty account," which the croppers claim has not been paid.

The government investigator went to this plantation with a member of the County Committee, who has informed our committee that no thorough investigation was made. A few croppers were interviewed and a few questions which were not pertinent to the charges were asked. Thus the investigator chiefly inquired whether the families had enough corn land. These people were rightly suspicious of all inquirers, and they failed to disclose the real situation. The investigator conferred with the owners but made no inspection of the books. He told his guide that he thought he had not been told the truth. *But no word of this opinion appeared in his report to Washington, which cleared the plantation.* The AAA check for thousands of dollars was shortly thereafter released, and the records state that "this plantation was thoroughly investigated." The whole "investigation" of this huge farm covering twenty-two square miles was completed in not more than six hours. The county committeeman, now relief administrator, recognizes the gravity of the situation and offers to aid the Department of Agriculture in a real investigation of this and other plantations in his county, if the department really desires to have it. Forty Negro families now face eviction from this farm because they have joined a union.

The minor officialdom of the department has remained quite unimpressed by these substantiations of the findings of our committee. Thus it was possible for C. A. Cobb, the head of the Cotton Section of the AAA, to write on September 18 that the charges "were examined at first hand, and found in many cases to be absolutely false, and in others greatly exaggerated." T. Roy Reid, assistant director of the extension service in Arkansas, went the limit in denial of the facts when on November 27 he assured a correspondent that after a thorough study "there was no evidence found by these impartial investigators to sustain the charges."

In spite of the plain intent of Section 7 to guarantee tenure the Cotton Section of the AAA has adopted a contrary official interpretation which is responsible for much of the present confusion on the cotton farms. This interpretation may be stated in the words of W. J. Green, field representative of the Adjustment Committee, as follows:

> The cotton contract states that the landlord shall keep the same number of tenants, but does not compel him to keep the same tenant. . . . There is nothing in the contract in regard to race . . . the landlord would have the right to replace a white tenant with a Negro . . .

Under the convenient protection of this interpretation of the labor clause thousands of families have been dispossessed throughout the cotton belt. In our own territory white share-croppers have usually been sacrificed, and, if replaced at all, have seen their homes occupied by colored families, often forced to work on a day-labor basis. A new wave of such dispossessions is scheduled for 1935. We have before us a list of nearly 300 families, the majority white, who have received eviction notices, some for membership in a union, some because they have tried to get their rights under the contract, some because the landowners are changing to Negro or convict labor.

We believe that it can now be seen that the great exodus of colored families from the rural South during the 1920-30 period has been reversed, and that many of

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these families are now returning to the country, where they are competing with white families for the available places. Being preferred by many plantation owners, they are responsible for the dispossession of many of the whites, who in their turn are thrown upon the relief rolls.

A group of twenty-three threatened families has entered the courts to ask for an injunction against eviction and for fulfilment of the contract. Most of the plaintiffs are white, and all have excellent records as farmers. The defendant is Hiram Norcross, planter, of Tyronza, Arkansas. This test case of the meaning of Section 7 will shortly be heard by the Supreme Court of Arkansas. The suit is supported by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the American Civil Liberties Union, with C. T. Carpenter of Marked Tree in charge of the case. Funds for legal expenses have been collected from hundreds of croppers of both races, much of the money "pennied out" by the payment of a few cents a week. An authoritative court interpretation of Section 7 will go far to resolve the present dispute as to the rights of these people to hold their lands.

From these experiences the conclusion must be drawn that, despite the creation of an Adjustment Committee and some effort on the part of federal officials to rectify injustices, relatively little has been accomplished. In justice to the Department of Agriculture it must be admitted that the enforcement of the labor provisions of the cotton contract, even if there were no dispute regarding interpretation, would be a herculean labor, since more than a million contracts have been signed. The department can get adequate investigations neither through its county agents, who, though technically competent, are yet unskilled in social relationships and closely bound to the landlords, nor through the hurried trips of harassed minor officials inspecting scattered cases on the run and unfamiliar with local situations. Once the basic error of production restriction has been made, it is no longer within the power of administrators, however humane, to prevent a train of vicious sequelae. In times of economic stress we see the feeble hold of legal forms.

There is reason to believe, however, that much may yet be accomplished if a more adequate machinery of inspection and enforcement be set up. Let the Secretary of Agriculture create a National Agricultural Labor Board, responsible directly to him, with regional offices and a representative in at least each Congressional district. This board should have power to enforce the labor provisions of all AAA contracts and should concern itself not merely with hearing complaints but with making appropriate surveys to prevent abuses from arising. In the cotton country croppers have been driven from pillar to post for so long and have sunk so low in the human scale that they cannot imagine any other type of life, and do not know how to resist exploitation. They react by developing an irresponsible and antagonistic attitude. For half a century now the 40 per cent annual labor turnover has, at each year's end, filled Southern roads with miserable families seeking a new home. With a federal reduction program in operation, new opportunities have almost vanished. The plight of these people thus becomes in a peculiar sense a national responsibility.

For enforcing its contracts the Department of Agriculture holds a much stronger position than the governmental agencies which preside over Section 7-a of the industrial codes, since it controls important financial benefits the withholding of which can throw many a plantation into bankruptcy. It must, however, clarify its mind as to its attitude toward the various classes of our farm population. In the cotton country its present program is greatly aiding the 30 per cent of owners and higher types of tenants, but it has been of no aid to most of the 70 per cent of croppers and day laborers, many of whom are worse off than ever before. Under its program the older habits of exploitation persist, merely moving in new channels and assuming new forms. The department has not yet come to grips with the basic problems. The creation of a more effective agency for the adjustment of labor disputes under present contracts is only a step in the larger program which is needed. The following concrete suggestions are offered:

1. When new contracts are drawn, the labor clauses must have the binding force of law, without quibble or equivocation, and the full protection of the department must be extended to every man, regardless of race, color, or union affiliation, who has honestly performed his labor.

2. The right of agricultural laborers to organize and bargain collectively should be proclaimed and recognition of this right written into all contracts.

3. Tenants and share-croppers should be given representation upon all boards and local committees set up to administer the AAA program.

4. The labor of children under fourteen years of age in the fields should be forbidden by national statute. Many children now begin to pick cotton at the age of five and to "chop" at ten, at wages as low as 3 cents an hour.

Ultimately the plantation system must be liquidated. Dr. J. H. Dillard is quite justified when he writes: "Damn the whole tenant system. There can be no decent civilization until it is abolished." We must do away with the whole antiquated scheme of landlord-tenant arrangements, to which there must always cling many of the worst features of chattel slavery without its benefits.

Forces are already working to accomplish this liquidation. Universal bankruptcy has threatened and will threaten again, as cotton prices fluctuate and interest and taxes pyramid. Official Washington is by no means entirely oblivious to the present situation; the basic difficulty is the lack of a unified program. The rural rehabilitation program of the FERA is establishing thousands of destitute families on a new and more independent basis, which may represent the entering wedge of a force that will ultimately transform the present system. The urgent need for a change has now been recognized by the PWA Mississippi Valley Committee, which in its report to Secretary Ickes advocates a federal program which will enable all tenants to acquire ownership of land. The alternative method of large-scale cooperative farms must also be tested. If tenure is absolutely guaranteed, without power to sell or mortgage, possibly on long-term leases from the government under a Federal Loan Authority, it will free a whole people from their present shackles and make possible the education of a more responsible and effective generation than the South has ever known.

The solution of the human and economic problems of the Cotton Belt is not to be found within the South alone. No purely regional program will suffice. Its special products must be properly utilized in a national and, ultimately, an international scheme, planned for the use of all.

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Midwinter Book Section

Are Novels Worth Reading?

By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

PERSISTENT readers of novels will usually confess that what began as a passion tends to end as a habit. The transition may have been made by easy stages. The victim may not know just when he ceased to find in the pages of fiction the excitement which once was there, and when he began, willy-nilly, to expect no more than the tranquillity which comes from repeating once again a familiar experience. But if the reader has reached forty and if—as we politely assume—he has the normal capacity to retain impressions, then he can hardly deny that the transition has occurred, that he has ceased to find in very many best-sellers, or even in novels which have had a *succès d'estime,* anything capable of stirring in him that sense of a fresh and rewarding adventure which was once so common.

The history and the treatise are necessarily long, but men who actually require 250 pages in which to set down the original things they have to say about character and "life" are rare—far rarer at least than the authors of respectable novels; and most of what the competent novelist has to say cannot fail to be as familiar to the persistent reader as his own most familiar impressions. He may feel it his duty to "keep up with current literature," or he may frankly confess that he reads novels for the same reason that more desperate men play solitaire, but the very explicitness of the novel, the pains it takes to explain acts or motives which no one who has read much or observed much needs to have explained again, make it dilute at best; and as the reader settles into his daily or his weekly volume—hot from the press and urged upon his attention by the indefatigable enthusiasm of the professional recommender, who is bound to pretend that he has just learned for the first time that adolescence is yeasty or that women are fickle—he cannot but admit that the day has passed when these things come to him as important discoveries. There was, of course, a time when that was exactly how they did come and exactly what they were—a time when "meadow, grove, and stream" or, if you prefer, even the "he saids" and the "she saids" of a now only reminiscent dialogue were appareled in celestial light, and every recurrent situation, every common sight had still "the glory and the freshness of a dream." But the reader, alas, is no longer what he was, and there has passed a glory, not only from the earth, but also from those merely competent descriptions of it which the competent novelist gives.

Every few years, perhaps, the persistent reader meets some wholly original work—some "Ulysses" or "Magic Mountain" or "Remembrance of Things Past"—which stirs him again to the excitement he once felt in every substantial novel and which seems to open some new field of understanding or emotion. But if he actually demands of every novel anything remotely resembling that, he will spend, year in and year out, less time in reading fiction than he spends in brushing his teeth. He may meet the situation as he will. He may leave novel reading to younger folk or he may, as he has probably learned to do in connection with other activities, content himself with enjoyment upon a lower level; but whatever he does he will have come upon a sort of law of diminishing returns from fiction.

Of all the forms of imaginative literature the novel is the one which contains the largest amount of sheer information. To a far greater extent poetry and even the drama present the products of a distillation, while the novel devotes more effort to mere description. That is why it is so long and that is why it is, preeminently, addressed to youth. It does not, as the great poem does, deal with experiences too direct and too simple to need a context of experience, or assume whatever knowledge of the ways of men may be necessary to comprehension. It describes men and manners, even the habits and traditions and conventions of particular societies. Both in the cant and in the more general sense of the phrase it imparts the "facts of life." For that reason its function is largely, and importantly, educational. Only experience itself is a better teacher of what we call "knowledge of the world," and the man who has not read his quota of good novels is a man of unusual experience or unusual intuition if he does not remain somehow callow by comparison with those who have participated vicariously but specifically and in detail in more kinds of lives than any man can have for himself. But for that reason also it is the form from which, as time goes on, one can learn less and less, since one has come to know more and more about the subject with which the novel deals.

Once every page taught something. Every incident was instructive, not because no other novel communicated the same fact or the same truth, but simply because they were all as new to the reader as they were old to human experience. Only those incapable of learning can, however, continue indefinitely to find in any except the supreme novels any large proportion of fresh instruction. One discovers that more and more is familiar, that from any given novel one receives fewer and fewer fresh impressions, until finally the time has arrived when it no longer pays to search the whole haystack for the needle, which as likely as not is not even there. And when that time comes, the reader does one of two things: either he stops reading novels except on those rare occasions when one not mainly repetitious appears, or he settles into the harmless and, to some, agreeable habit of lulling his spirit with the repetition of familiar experiences.

Some writers—and some critics—seem to feel that the difficulty has been eluded when the novel has been packed with facts of a sort which gain nothing from fictionalization. Having no new things to say about human nature, the author puts in what he knows about the Napoleonic wars, the history of medical research, or the economic development of New England. The result may be informative in its way, but what you have in such a book is not primarily a novel at all. What you have instead is popularization on the lowest level, something hardly less debasing to reader and writer alike than those instructive fables for children

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in which Spinach appears as a good fairy and Toothpaste is a beneficent genius whose favor it is well to cultivate. No writer worthy of his craft wants to compromise with the most effective possible presentation of his material, and no reader who really wants information wants it in any except its most accurate and comprehensive form. But the novel which imparts information of a sort with which the treatise or the history can adequately deal is either bastard fiction, vulgarized exposition, or—more probably—both.

"Fictionalization" is a dreadful word which signifies a dreadful thing. The kind of information which a true novel gives, the kind of instruction which it succeeds in imparting, is a kind with which only it can deal. Its field is a field of observations and intuitions too complicated, too illusive, and too tenuous to be reduced to downright statement, and capable of being communicated only in connection with concrete persons and concrete situations which suggest them. The true novelist does not translate his abstract conclusions into stories, for if he did he would have not a novel but a fable. The true novelist writes novels just because what he wants to say cannot, by him at least, be dissociated from the story he has to tell, and nothing can be "fictionalized" because nothing can be made into fiction which is not that, and only that, to begin with.

It is a pity, no doubt, that the novel which the mature reader can find not merely "worth reading" but actually too valuable to miss should be as rare as it is. But the situation is not to be remedied by offering him sugar-coated pills of history or economics instead. There is, indeed, only one way in which critics, librarians, editors, and the others interested in the welfare of fiction can possibly remedy it. Let them see to it that all novels are written by geniuses.

Poets and the Wars

By PHILIP BLAIR RICE

What should the wars do with these jigging fools?

SINCE our poets began their rather vertiginous scramble down from the ivory tower into the depths of the mine pit, only a few years have elapsed. It is not surprising, consequently, that much of their output should be inferior and that the critical standards by which it is judged should be highly confused. In discussing such poetry critics have ranged between two extremes. At one extreme is the assumption that poetry is a form of propaganda and that its political orthodoxy or heresy is the main thing that matters. At the other, poetry is treated as merely a craft, and interest in its subject matter is deplored as irrelevant curiosity; if the poet's beliefs are mentioned at all, it is only to dismiss them as neutral "data" from which the poet spins his word-music or word-magic. The point of view which I should like to suggest is both traditional and unpopular: that poetry is, in the last analysis, neither propaganda nor a craft but an art.

These much-abused terms need to be clarified. Art differs from propaganda in that it does not have the primary purpose of inciting masses of people to action, a purpose to which it is ill suited. This does not imply that propaganda may not be upon occasion, for society in general, even more important than art. When, as at present, the social organism (if the metaphor be allowed) is in severe pain, its more spontaneous utterances are likely to be artless cries of agony or recrimination. It is quite intelligible under the circumstances that some poets should wish to write, in the words of Ben Maddow, "lines in bad taste, iron-skinny, twisted as cramps of hunger." An example of this sort of writing is Robert Gessner's "Upsurge," which in certain moods I for one find very stirring, but not as poetry.

Art goes beyond the limitations of a craft, on the other hand, because it can be more than the skilful organization of convenient material into a pleasing design to meet some prescribed or casual need; the poetic artist, at his best, uses the craft of language to present movingly his vision of the world and of man's place in it. The poet's beliefs and insights, when he has any of consequence, are not inert data upon which he operates. Not only do they influence the form and texture of the poem, but they confer upon its highest moments an intensity which cannot be derived from the resources of language alone. A critic who treats either a poem's technique or its substance in isolation fails to do it complete justice.

These rousing platitudes are, I believe, pertinent to the present state of affairs in literature, which involves both a crisis in belief and a refashioning of the instruments of literature to deal with this crisis. At this point I should like to affirm that the poet is under no obligation to deal primarily or exclusively with social and economic themes. Today, however, it is highly probable that he will be aware of such matters, and that his awareness will be reflected in his writing. Furthermore, until the event proves otherwise, it is a safe assumption that the conflict of cultural forces and ideas can supply at least as fit subject matter for poetry as that supplied by the procession of the changing seasons.

Part of the difficulty with verse inspired by the social muse springs from its novelty. Such verse is not altogether unprecedented, but generally its motivation has been well concealed: Wordsworth's desire to call attention to the early injustices of the Industrial Revolution was veiled in praises of the Idiot Boy; with Kipling, imperialism spoke the language of morals and piety. In the last century, moreover, the poet has not been able to draw his imagery from the economic life of the time as readily as could the Elizabethans, for example, from the commerce and handicrafts of their age. Until very recently, at least, the products and social by-products of modern industrialism have been almost uniformly shoddy and lacking in pageantry. It was not until T. S. Eliot and others of his generation went for their technique to earlier poetic traditions, which made greater use of the intellect, that the sights and sounds of an urban, mechanical civilization could be reduced to poetic order.

As a result of their labors, when a younger poet such as Stephen Spender began to write he was able to face a world which did not merely jar upon his senses. He could see that the "air-liner with shut-off engines" possessed the same traditionally poetic qualities as the moth; he saw it

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"with burring furred antennae feeling its huge path through dusk." Now it was possible to go a step farther:

After the first powerful plain manifesto
The black statement of pistons, without more fuss
But gliding like a queen, she leaves the station.

The link with the traditionally poetic has been omitted in the first two lines; the two terms of the metaphor are both distinctively modern, and one of them, "manifesto," is taken from the sphere of economic conflict. Spender is doing much the same sort of thing as George Herbert did in his poem Redemption, where the subject of the Atonement is treated in the following figure:

Having been tenant long to a rich Lord,
Not thriving, I resolved to be bold,
And make a suit unto him, to afford
A new small-rented lease, and cancell th' old . . .

Of the two passages Spender's is the less labored; it is in no wise a conceit.

Metaphor is only one of the poet's tools, but until a writer has mastered its possibilities he is rarely able to deal adroitly with economic material. Even such an accomplished writer as Archibald MacLeish falls down because he is not able to handle contemporary subject matter in this way. He is at his best when he writes about the Mexico of the Conquistadores or the masts of Cette or on themes taken from "The Golden Bough." When he approaches his own time he becomes abusive and incoherent. He rarely achieves a metaphor which extracts wonder or terror—much less pity—from the contemporary world: it enters his verse mainly as the "anti-poetic" which weights his invective.

The failure to attain a more complicated type of order is also illustrated in MacLeish's topical poems, Frescoes for Rockefeller City, and 1933. The legend persists with some left-wing critics that the Frescoes are an American version of the hymn to Horst Wessel. To interpret them thus is to miss their significance entirely. They contain, indeed, a certain amount of amiable Americanophilia, at the same time hard-boiled and sentimental, such as has been a recurrent note in our literature from Whitman to Sandburg. But this does not resemble in the slightest the militant nationalism of Hitler and Mussolini; it is no more fascist than is a run-of-the-mine Fourth of July oration by an Iowa Congressman with a slight leaning toward the Ku Klux Klan. A large part of the poem is devoted to satire on the robber barons, and might have been written by almost anyone with Mr. MacLeish's gifts, even by an orthodox Marxist. The last of the six sections is devoted to a burlesque on the Communists, whom Mr. MacLeish finds vulgar. But the conclusion of the poem gives a decisive clue. After asserting that it is pretty hard to change America ("She's a tough land under the oak trees, mister"), the poet reveals his true attitude in the last line: "There is too much sun on the lids of my eyes to be listening." Mr. MacLeish is not a fascist: he is simply bored, bored by both communism and predatory capitalism, bored by the social muse herself.

The poem entitled 1933 presents the same attitude, although the author tries to force it to a more positive conclusion. Elpenor speaks to Odysseus out of the hell of the contemporary world, directing him to steer past the sirens who sing of "dialectical hope and the kind of childish Utopia found in a small boys' school," and who prescribe "work as the answer for everything." Odysseus is advised to trust neither to "charts nor to prophets" but to "seamanship." (Is this Mr. Roosevelt's "quarterback" philosophy?) At last he will come to "a clean beach, an unplowed country" where he can "begin it again" with the hard rain on his head and raw fern for his bedding. This might be taken to symbolize subsistence homesteads or emigration to Bali, but the chances are that the poet means nothing so specific:

You have only to push on
To whatever it is that's beyond us.

In other words, Mr. MacLeish counsels us to keep a stiff upper lip and muddle through.

These poems are ineffectual, in the first instance, because the poet has neither an articulated point of view of his own nor a comprehension of that of his adversaries. He is merely irritated with what he sees about him. The hell of 1933, like that of Mr. Pound's "Cantos," on which it is patterned, is "without dignity, without tragedy." The poet may not be able to find order in the contemporary world; he must, however, be able to read into it the possibility of order, else he cannot extract from it either tragedy or comedy. The tragedy or the comedy will then arise from the contrast between the possible and the actual.

The connection between a poet's thought and his craft is here especially intimate. The poet who has dominated his material will usually express the more complex type of order by means of symbols. Mr. MacLeish's symbols fail because they have no precise reference, intellectual or emotional. The problem of symbolic structure is particularly difficult for the poet who feels impelled to write on social themes. His symbols must simplify a highly complex object of reference; they must also be just. When Ben Maddow, in his poem Red Decision, chooses as his principal symbol of the capitalist system the Reverend Bigutz, who

doth from his brain like udders softly squirt
apt phrases for the quasi-liberal
Church of St. John the Rockerfeller . . .

the reader may well feel that the torpedo is aimed not at the engine room of the capitalist ship but at one of its barnacles. On the other hand, the same poem presents a symbol of the future commonwealth which is poetically very effective, used as it is in contrast with pictures of the slums:

A home, a rigid bubble of the sun,
of Le Corbusier, at Poissy-sur-Seine, light,
light sustains the glassy flank, a sun-light world. . . .

Poetry on these themes would seem to have very definite limitations. Some of the issues with which it deals are, we hope, transitory. If and when they are solved they will very largely be dead issues. But the poet cannot keep his gaze fixed unflinchingly on eternity; and, indeed, historical understanding, with its gift of "imaginative assent," enables those who are properly qualified to resuscitate much that to others is utterly defunct.

To adopt the attitude of "imaginative assent" rather than that of belief may well require from contemporaries a more heroic feat of detachment than from posterity. It would certainly be difficult to imagine a Communist today enjoying to the full a fascist poem, or vice versa, whatever its technical excellences. A related difficulty is illustrated by the fact that no one, presumably, would be willing to admit that he had been converted to communism, Southern agrarianism, or rugged individualism merely by reading the

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poetic exponents of one of these schools of thought. I do not mean to imply that the poet does not have his contribution—one cannot, in these matters, simply "leave it to the economist." In fact, one of the perhaps incidental uses of the poetic imagination is to show us what the abstract principles of the theorist mean in the concrete. But it is especially difficult for such a poem to be a unit in itself. The reader, even the sympathetic reader, is constantly diverted from the poem by the feeling that he would like to have some statistics on a given issue, or by the need to engage in dialectical analysis.

The poet, moreover, in order to achieve dramatic concentration, is almost invariably tempted to overstate his case. Messrs. Auden, Day Lewis, and Spender come nearer than most of their contemporaries to writing major poetry on social themes, partly because they are concerned not only with the raw suffering produced by the economic system but also with the quality of life which it engenders. They see the problem not merely as a "social" one, but as one of harmonizing the individual with himself—a moral problem, if you like. Yet even they sometimes give the impression that the profit economy is wholly responsible for all sorts of things, such as selfishness, sexual impotence, and bad taste in the arts, which are traceable in large part to factors that would be operative under any economic system.

Difficulties arising from the problem of poetry and belief are not peculiar to verse on social themes, for to a considerable extent they apply also to philosophical and religious verse; and I am not asserting that they are lethal. A consideration of them may, however, forestall the disappointment of expecting too much, or the wrong kind of thing, from the deliverances of the social muse at the present time. It may also suggest that the poet's beliefs should unobtrusively control the opera from the orchestra pit and not wave a baton in the center of the stage.

The Centaur

By LIONEL ABEL

A horse's lungs and four legs
we should need
    yes, and horseblood
up to the loins at least
    to run so utterly

As the twofooted runner who went
over the mile's length, running
with white ankles blurring to pale bronze
with footbeat
    following so fast on footbeat
the gray cinder lengths so long between

And yet wore a jersey, a white one,
    any of us could have worn it,
and sucked on a lemon rind
such as we find in our teacups
and had need of an acid equal
    to our need
on legendless evenings
Were we not right to cry to the runner
to flog his limbs like another man's horse
to sweat, flog forward, sweat as a horse sweats
    breast the tape, fall, fall headlong
up to the loins in a fable

Since to be sane, to be sober
we must drive all the fablefooted beasts
back to the half-darks
    when they breast up out of the half-lights
and cry to come among us—
    shall we not cry to the twofooted runner

Descent from Death

By HAL SAUNDERS WHITE

I who have seen the hours turning
With no returning,
Seeing like water or the wind's flow
All things go careless of desire,
I who have felt the slow fire
Of the lone body's burning,
Leave now false rest—
This crumbling turret of the breast—
Leave now the sealed and mummied room;
Down the long stair
By which I climbed into my high despair
Descend to common air;
In the high tomb deserted leave that self
Which starved on plenty and grew proud,
Leave every starveling hope it had
Once to be glad
In its own private shroud.

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Priapus in Georgia

Journeyman. By Erskine Caldwell. The Viking Press. $4.50.

WHATEVER else may be said of this new work by Erskine Caldwell, it should dispel the notion that he is to be considered a realistic interpreter of conditions in the South—or anywhere else for that matter. For those persons who felt that the references to the tenant-farmer system in "Tobacco Road" and the description of the factory strike in "God's Little Acre" were really irrelevant distractions from the principal interest in those two books, "Journeyman" will prove a complete justification. It is now quite evident that Mr. Caldwell is interested in only one thing and that whatever does not bear on that one thing is altogether beside the point. What both Mr. Caldwell and his admirers are most genuinely interested in, of course, is what T. S. Eliot, in one of the more somber poems of his later period, describes as "the ecstasy of the animal." To insure proper concentration on such a theme Mr. Caldwell has necessarily to select a background and characters as little encumbered by traditional moral and intellectual impedimenta as possible. In this sense alone does his choice of the backwash region of rural Georgia have any particular significance. The essential need is for a background in which so few strictly human characteristics persist that the

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process of abstraction may be carried on with the minimum of difficulty. For the personages in Mr. Caldwell's idyls are not subhuman, as some critics maintain; they are so divested of everything that we understand by the human that there is scarcely any point in trying to establish a kinship at all. What each of them is reduced to finally is a kind of abstraction—from the human to the animal, and even farther, as in the present book, from the complete animal organism to the single instinct. The world of Mr. Caldwell's three novels does not exist in heaven or on the earth, nor do the monomaniac creatures with which it is populated. It can be accepted only as a world of pure fantasy, a world of potentialities rather than actualities, in which man, that paragon of animals, is reduced to the lowest common denominator of his animal nature.

In outline this new book possesses the bald simplicity of the very earliest stories of the race. In particular, it recalls the old tales of gods mingling with men, the legends of Dionysus, Priapus, and Pan—in which the effect of the divine visitation was a considerable upsetting of the regular human order. So mischievous were these deities on their rare terrestrial holidays that mankind was thrown for the duration of their stay into what the Greeks were forced to call a "panic." The disturbing god was usually associated, it will also be recalled, with the cult of fertility or generation; and Semon Dye, the hero of "Journeyman," is quite distinctly a divinity of this order. As in most of the myths, it is never certain whether the name that this wandering preacher gives himself is really his own; his origins are left obscure; he arrives and departs like a will-o'-the-wisp. But in the course of his brief stay he swindles the dull-witted Georgia landowner out of his farm, his automobile, and his wife. He shoots down a Negro who protests against his seduction of one of the girls on the place, and he ensnares the whole neighborhood into the village schoolhouse to hear him preach against sin. Toward this great event everything in the story is made to move; and it must be admitted that Semon Dye's efforts to instil "religion" into the sluggish congregation provide some of the most astonishing chapters in recent fiction. While neither the use of the Southern revivalist meeting nor the identification of sex with religion is exactly new in the contemporary American novel, these closing sections exceed in graphic concreteness anything that even Mr. Caldwell has so far offered to the public. And it is during this orgy that the resemblance between Semon Dye and the early gods of the phallic cults is most likely to strike the reader. He will seem to be less a man, even a caricature of an itinerant Southern preacher, than some incarnation out of time and space.

When he is gone the man called Clay remarks, "God help the people at the next place Semon picks out to stop and preach. . . . But I reckon they'll be just as tickled to have him around as I was." In itself such a statement need not be given too much importance, but coming as it does at the close of this strange fable and paralleling so exactly the Dionysian resolutions of Mr. Caldwell's other novels, we are probably justified in believing that we finally come to rest in another rather homely reassertion of the religion of the flesh. In other words, Mr. Caldwell belongs to the tradition of modern writers who seek to discover an escape from the uncomfortable situation of being a man in the more limited satisfactions of the animal. Without reviving any of the familiar intellectual arguments against such a point of view, one may inquire whether Mr. Caldwell in so limiting his own interest in his characters does not also limit the possibility of very much future interest in his writing. In the last analysis, his reduction of man to animal, of experience to sensation, involves eliminations which the novelist, who addresses himself to men and not to animals, can hardly afford to make through very many successive works.

WILLIAM TROY

Truth Through the Transom

The American Diplomatic Game. By Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

THIS is a book which offers the reviewer two utterly different lines of approach. In itself it affronts every tradition of journalism, the trade to which I have belonged all my life. Drew Pearson's technique is that of the transom. It consists of viewing public events and public men, not as Walter Lippmann does, from Olympus and with a telescope, but from a ladder and looking over the transom with an opera glass. Now personally I prefer Lippmann to Pearson just as I like Plutarch better than Pepys. As a result, I should like nothing better than to be able to say that the results of Pearson's methods are as unattractive as are his methods themselves. But I am bound to say that if anyone asked me to direct him to an illuminating explanation of the post-war performances of American statesmanship, I should have to send him to Pearson and not to Lippmann.

In itself this book is purely destructive; it discloses how and when American statesmanship broke down in all its more considerable undertakings of the post-war years. It leaves it to the reader to answer the question of why the failures were invariable, as beyond any doubt they have been. Nevertheless, all the evidence is there. If you read the description of the circumstances of the formulation of the Kellogg Pact, the conduct of the London naval conference, the launching of the Hoover moratorium, and, finally, the birth of the Stimson doctrine, you see the reason why all led to humiliating collapse.

Take the Kellogg Pact. Its origin is to be traced to two men, Salmon O. Levinson and James T. Shotwell. In their separate fashions they had hit upon the idea of outlawing war. The former approached it from the legalistic point of view, the latter from the academic. Mr. Kellogg was too busy with practical problems to deal with cranks. In the end he did accept it just as a tired business man buys a ticket to the Irish Derby Sweep in order to get rid of the importunate ticket seller. As it happened, he not only won the capital prize, but in addition that prize turned out to be the Nobel award. One day he awoke to find himself famous.

Take, again, the story of the American delegation at the London naval conference. From the very start it was clear that the only hope of a five-power pact was American consent to a consultative agreement. Otherwise France was bound to wreck the show. But Mr. Hoover did not realize it, Mr. Stimson did not perceive it, even Dwight Morrow was only led to it by the reliance he placed upon the judgment of George Rublee, who did see it. Eventually Morrow persuaded Stimson, but Stimson's message to Hoover came too late and the London conference collapsed. Afterwards Mr. Stimson is described as speculating to himself when *he* first hit upon this idea. The story of how Hoover fumbled the moratorium because he hated the French is fully told. So also is the story of how the State Department once claimed for Hoover the credit for a "solution" of the financial crisis in Europe in 1931, which was threatening world catastrophe; and how Stimson, with the honesty which is as characteristic of the man as is his inherent unselfishness, exploded the cheap self-seeking of Washington by confessing that he knew of no American plan, and such useful suggestions as had been advanced were to be credited to the British Prime Minister and not to the American President.

Now these tales are not the inventions of an inveracious reporter; they are not the creations of a cheap cynic. All

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things considered they do constitute a fair picture. They disclose the reason that American foreign policy has been consistently futile. Stimson was not a mean man or a petty person. Morrow was very far from being a fool, even if the position into which he was thrust at London was new to him and, before he had mastered it, the good moment had passed forever. Nor was that much-criticized and, on the whole, properly criticized State Department of ours wholly without vision. On the contrary crabbed, conceited, academic Stanley Hornbeck had a grasp of realities in the Far East which would have earned him a knighthood in Great Britain. But who would listen to him until it was too late? The Stimson doctrine was evolved in time to get us in up to our neck in the Manchurian affair but only long after it could have helped get the Japanese out of Manchuria.

Hughes with his Washington conference, Kellogg with his pact, Stimson with his doctrine, and last of all poor Hull with his tariff-reform notions, which belong to a day as dead as Queen Anne—in Pearson's narrative you see them all similarly fumbling on the margins of a new phase in American history. Like General Trochu during the defense of Paris in 1871, they are credited with a plan and they accept the credit. But in reality they have no plan. Knowledge, experience, conviction—of these they have little. All of them would honestly like to do something, first for peace and second for the Administration to which they belong. Above all they are not wicked men, wicked in the sense of being militarists, imperialists, supernationalists. On the contrary, they are morally and intellectually average men. They are asked to formulate a policy for a country which has so far failed to make up its own mind. They are invariably caught between the prerogatives of the Senate and the pretensions of Presidents. They honestly seek to make the world safe for peace but they actually are expected to make it secure for the party in power at the next election. And so far as one can see, nothing has changed between 1920 and 1935 save the Administration.

FRANK H. SIMONDS

A Philosophic Pathfinder

Mind, Self and Society. By George H. Mead. Edited by Charles W. Morris. University of Chicago Press. $5.

THESE posthumous papers represent the ripe fruit of one of America's most original, but comparatively neglected, philosophers. They bring together in systematic and detailed argument a series of views until now only available in truncated form in a scattered variety of technical publications. If philosophical eminence be measured by the extent to which a man's writings anticipate the focal problems of a later day and contain a point of view which suggests persuasive solutions to many of them, then George Herbert Mead has justly earned the high praise bestowed upon him by Dewey and Whitehead as "a seminal mind of the very first order."

At the time Mead began his studies on the social presuppositions of the mind and self, professional philosophers were concerned almost exclusively with the relations between the subject and object, spirit and matter, individual and society—and with the insoluble problems of how to put together again elements which the traditional method of stating philosophic questions had forever separated. Mead's painstaking empirical account of mind as social action expressed in the interplay of gesture and symbol, and of the contents of mind as a historic product of social interaction, seemed to many of his contemporaries irrelevant or, at best, tangential to the main lines of philosophic inquiry. And yet by making the nature of communication between selves his central topic, and under-

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scoring its necessary and multiple reference to an objective continuum of social experience and activity, he was delivering a flank attack upon the conflicting schools of idealism and realism whose noisy verbal whirr composes the theme song of most of the history of modern philosophy. The question which Mead implicitly raised—namely, to what extent the traditional metaphysical, logical, and epistemological problems are the result of an inadequate analysis of the nature of communication, language, and thought—is now being explicitly forced on the attention of the philosophers, from fields as wide apart as foundational mathematics to genetic psychology. Meaning and the meaning of meaning are the prolegomena to any future philosophy.

A brief indication of the concrete philosophic bearing of some of Mead's conclusions will reveal the fruitfulness of his approach. If personal consciousness is neither logically nor temporally prior to social experience but, as Mead holds, built up in us out of organized social attitudes and processes through the mechanism of language, then the ghosts of philosophic subjectivism are finally laid. The familiar question, posed in one form or another from Bishop Berkeley to Bertrand Russell, as to how we can legitimately go from the experienced elements of our private world to the neutral structures of a public world no longer is intelligible once its presuppositions about meaning and communication are challenged. Every meaningful description of our personal experience already calls attention to facts and forms of behavior—to things and persons—which are outside that experience. Conversely, if an objective social experience is the matrix out of which all meanings are discriminated, then science, as the organization of meanings for the purposes of the prediction and control of things, reports not about physical things as they exist in their bare externality but about the world of *commonly* experienced things. Scientific objectivity must be interpretable as one form of social objectivity, that is, in terms of what is invariant in social experience. The contrasts between the "illusory" solid substance of things and their "real," non-experimental, scientific character, dramatically exploited for different ends from Democritus to Eddington, vanishes in the light of careful inquiry into the role of signs and symbols in thinking.

This first volume does not concern itself directly with large philosophic issues but with the linguistic and social groundwork of consciousness. Consciousness, for Mead, is not located in the brain nor in the muscular contractions of the larynx. These are mere conditions of its appearance, but neither the only nor the most significant conditions. In its distinctive sense, consciousness emerges out of the interpenetrations of individual behavior by social processes. Since the scientific study of behavior must give an account of the social conditions in and through which it unfolds, psychology may more properly be regarded as a branch of social psychology than of physiology.

Mead's main problem is to reveal the specific mechanisms through which the stream of social experience waters and nourishes the individual self. Following the lead of Wundt, he maintains that gestures are the fundamental vehicles of communication, uniting at least two individuals in a common social pattern. When gestures become significant symbols, meaningful readjustment of individuals to each other and their common situation takes place. Vocal gestures are the most exemplary instances of significant symbols. When uttered, they arouse in the individual making them the same incipient response which they arouse in another. The individual understands himself first as others understand him; he observes within himself a tendency to act toward himself as others do. This establishes a community of meaning which is enlarged by the capacity of the individual to play the same roles toward himself in successive experiences which others play. The series of roles taken at any time by society—"the generalized other"—in relation to the individual constitute his "me." When the individual becomes critically aware of the attitudes taken toward and exhibited by himself, and acts to preserve or change them, he develops personality. The "I" of self-consciousness is born.

In Mead's view social harmony and control are genuinely possible only when individuals "are able to assume the attitude of others who are involved with them in a common endeavor." The implications are obvious and are drawn by the author. Any caste or class society, by limiting the opportunities of shared social experience, restricts the number and impoverishes the quality of the personalities developing within it. Distinctions between personalities, although socially derivative, are the most precious flowers of culture. They can be preserved and multiplied, however, only in a society whose institutions make it possible for all individuals to participate significantly in cooperative activities.

Criticism and evaluation of Mead's pioneer researches must wait upon the appearance of the rest of his work. Here I wish to raise two general questions which his analysis suggests. Granted that the adjustive responses of the individual to his world acquire social dimensionality through the mechanism of language, how is language itself affected by other activities and institutions of social life? Is there any method by which the language process can be treated not only as the instrument of social communication but as the resultant effect of other social activities without raising futile and insoluble problems about the origin of language? Second, to what extent can basic differences in linguistic structure be significantly correlated with differences in social experience?

Professor Charles Morris is to be congratulated upon a very competent piece of editing. His prefatory essay provides an illuminating introduction to Mead's world of ideas.

SIDNEY HOOK

Saving Cuba

Problems of the New Cuba. Report of the Commission on Cuban Affairs. Foreign Policy Association. $3.

IF all the elaborate programs for saving Cuba which have been published by Americans during the last thirty-five years were laid end to end, they would not cover the hundred miles of sea between Key West and Havana, but their pages would amply paper the walls of more than one poor Cuban's thatched *bohío* and console him with the thought that, though he may still starve, good-will toward him will never cease. After thirty-five years of American persuasion, coercion, and buzzing experts, there is still no democracy in Cuba, the school system has rotted away, health control has not advanced, militarism grips the island, and trade during the depression has dropped to a pre-independence level. The people have a Sunday-school, made-in-the-U.-S.-A. constitution, but less economic independence and more starvation than under Spanish rule. For three decades Cubans have come to own less and less of their own country. Cuba today is a sick country growing sicker.

Presto! Another American program. Invited by President Carlos Mendieta, the Foreign Policy Association, financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, sent eleven experts for two months last year to investigate "the new Cuba" (*sic*) "in complete scientific independence." Their 500 pages of findings, at least apparently, are far more disinterested than the writings of past apologists such as Professor Chapman of California or Chester Lloyd Jones of Wisconsin.

Another foundation report! It is academic, theoretical, cautious, contradictory of its own findings. It sidesteps ticklish

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questions, is afraid to step on toes. Its practical whitewashing of the public utilities is inexplicable; its currency and banking suggestions are a joke. On the bright side: the report moves forward in a coherent manner rarely encountered in such multiple collaboration, through a mass of permanently valuable facts and tables, to a series of conservative, occasionally well-defined recommendations.

Even to make these temperate suggestions, the commission had to tread valiantly over the reiterated and plaintive diehard footnote objections of one of its own members, Professor Carle Clark Zimmerman of Harvard. His insect-measuring investigations of the Cuban family reveal, despite his superficiality, a frightful situation. But his only suggestion is that the living level can be raised appreciably "if a well-considered reconstruction policy be adopted." In general he burns incense hopefully before the Moloch of laissez faire.

Least satisfactory by all odds is Dr. Ernest Gruening's public-utilities chapter. Under a thin veneer of apparent academic impartiality he largely absolves the companies of past wrongdoing, presents company propaganda without due analysis, bases most of his findings on short-range data of the present plight of the utilities without presenting a complete picture of their condition, including earnings and activities, during the previous Machado period. He is more sympathetic to the companies than to the post-revolutionary governments, labor, or the public. His insistence that Machado showed no special favoritism to the Cuban Electric Company, subsidiary of the Havana Electric Utilities, the American and Foreign Power, and the Electric Bond and Share draws a rueful smile. Machado, he declares, "neither before assuming the presidency nor after was ever an official or a stockholder of the Compañía Cubana de Electricidad [Inc.] . . . Machado's company was called the Compañía Cubana de Electricidad, S. A. . . . As he sold this company to the larger company of the same name, it is not surprising that confusion should occur in the public mind." Gruening successfully adds to the confusion by this misstatement.

The so-called Machado Compañía Cubana de Electricidad, S. A., was owned by the American and Foreign Power Company (incorporated in Maine) as early as 1923. Machado was vice-president. To its Cuban subsidiary the parent company leased all its other Cuban holdings. In 1925, not 1926 as Gruening states, the Havana Electric and Utilities, Inc., took out a charter, also in Maine, to reorganize the Steinhart properties. In that year Machado, whose campaign had been heavily financed by Mr. Catlin (Electric Bond and Share representative), became President of Cuba. He never sold his company to the Compañía Cubana de Electricidad, Inc. The latter was not incorporated until December 13, 1927, in Florida, as a subsidiary of the Havana Electric and Utilities to reorganize the existing owned properties.

Mr. Catlin, president of the Cuban Electric Company before and after reorganization, was Machado's most intimate friend. Gruening makes no mention of Machado's efforts, on coming into office, to remove for perpetuity practically all the company's taxes or of the great reduction he did effect and no mention of Machado's assistance to the company in acquiring new properties; he places no importance upon Machado's brutal treatment of leaders of the various consumers' strikes or upon his refusal to permit any rate reduction by the municipalities; he forgets Machado's martial-law decree to shoot saboteurs on sight and his decree forbidding anyone to order his light service cut off. He does not examine Machado's private deals with Catlin in connection with properties resold to the Cuban Electric Company. But this marked favoritism explains the public wrath that beset the company as soon as Machado was overthrown.

Gruening ignores public-relations activities, worse in

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Cuba than in our own country, though he once wrote a book exposing them in the United States. He condones the overhead mulcting of the holding companies. Besides its income from subsidiary stocks and the interest on huge loans to subsidiaries, the Electric Bond and Share Company also charged the Cuban Electric Company, though it was 60 per cent overstaffed with highly paid executives, a sliding-scale percentage of gross profits. In return for purchasing and other administrative services the parent company was given an average of more than $350,000 annually (1928-33 average). Gruening emphasizes the fact that in making the $1,500,000 annual purchase for the Cuban company, the holding concern bought fuel and oil through long-range contract at 90 cents a barrel when the best spot price was $1.25. This is merely a routine trade practice scarcely warranting such exaggerated commissions. The parent company also takes heavy slices through a subsidiary supply and engineering company. Profits drift up through five companies; loans and services sift down through five companies with attendant servicing and commission charges on each floor. Moreover, the Cuban company must pay profits on capitalization watered to nearly double the physical valuation.

Gruening makes no clear statement that the Cuban rates have been the highest in the world. He admits they should be reduced, but uses most of his space, not in scientifically analyzing production and distribution costs, but in trying to prove by partial, incomplete, and unsound data what everyone knows, namely, that costs are greater in Cuba with imported coal than in most places in the United States. He fails to mention, however, that labor costs are much lower. He greatly exaggerates the "load" factor in costs and compares the wide fluctuation in the amount of current used at different hours in the day for the single week ending April 28, 1934, with the fluctuations experienced by the Montana Power and the Texas Power and Light Company. He picks a week soon after a military coup d'etat and subsequent to a long period of disorder, also a week just after the grinding season, when fluctuations in Cuba are unusually great. On the other hand, this week is particularly favorable in Montana and Texas. In the form in which he presents his evidence it is merely valueless company propaganda. He has ignored recent technical studies in this country regarding distribution costs. The Grau rate cut was unscientific, as he indicates, though the new rate established by his technical commission was still higher than almost anywhere in this country.

In labor conflicts Gruening takes the side of the company unions, while denying they are company unions. I was in Havana during the strikes he describes. Among other things the strikers demanded a minimum wage of $1.60, but Gruening is far more disturbed because the average monthly wage of thirty-five leading executives was only $638—this average did not include the extravagant salary paid Mr. Steinhart, though later Gruening himself shows that out of sixty-seven members of the better-paid personnel dismissed during the temporary government management of the company, only twenty-eight were really needed.

Professor Graham of Princeton, a hoary dollar- and gold-standard bearer, wishes to tie the Cuban peso at par to the American dollar, thus making a monetary unit entirely too high in value. As a salve to its national pride, Cuba, he claims, should have its own currency, but backed by American dollars, deposited by a trustee in American banks, and invested in short-term American government and banking securities. Obviously the future of the American dollar is by no means assured. Graham's proposals would merely make Cuba's currency and banking a tail to the American bankers' kite. He offers no practical advice for the prompt establishment of rural credit, but wishes on Cuba building and loan societies, trust companies, and investment banking. His only suggestion for combating the monopoly of foreign banking corporations is "legislation establishing at least a minimum of good banking." A bold bad man indeed!

Cuba should turn to Mexico, which has a sound managed currency with silver banking, has completely broken the power of the foreign banks, and has made banking increasingly serve social ends. A similar currency policy would at once stimulate sugar, tobacco, and fruit growing, curtail all unnecessary imports, force diversification, stimulate small-scale manufacturing, and reduce the internal debt. A capital export tax would strengthen the trend.

Mr. Thomson's chapters on labor are a vast improvement, though they lack background—investigation of unemployment, seasonal labor, wages, and living costs. From them we can conclude for ourselves that all the Cuban workers got from the so-called revolution—and this from the independent, non-recognized Grau government—was an eight-hour day, a strengthening of the 1916 workmen's compensation act, the right to hold 50 per cent of all jobs, and compulsory arbitration. Under Mendieta the arbitration law was converted into an instrument of tyranny. Strikers then received the right of being tried as ordinary criminals by the special tribunal of national defense—tantamount to a martial-law decree. Mr. Thomson fails to show us that though Mendieta uses more legal lather, his treatment of Cuban labor differs little from that of the odious Machado. No account is given of the government's anti-workers' terror. Instead, Thomson fusses over the 50 per cent law and the deportation of black Haitians without prior court hearings. We wish Cuba would heed his suggestions and then demand that the United States correct its own vicious treatment of aliens.

Mr. Fetter presents the customary exhaustive public-debt material. He suggests as one possibility regarding the Chase bank loans, repudiated by a government commission, that they be adjudicated by The Hague—a favorite trap for colonial countries. As recompense for actual benefits received, Cuba should make a study of the Warren Brothers' road contracts (not made by the commission) and the manner in which the money was loaned and spent. The Cuban people should estimate and deduct the damages done to the country by the bank's assistance to an illegal despotism, especially as the bank and the State Department, which indorsed the loans, were repeatedly warned that the loans were improperly made to an illegal government in violation of the Platt Amendment. Certainly the Foreign Policy Commission is fully justified in its mild proposal to place reconstruction ahead of debt-payment resumption. (Zimmerman pops his protest.)

The best high light of the commission's report is Professor Jenks's thoroughly capable investigation of the sugar situation. His analysis of the contractual relations between the *colonos* and large company *centrales* is especially illuminating. As in his previous book, "Our Cuban Colony," he remains too cordial to the previous working of the Chadbourne sugar plan, basically a bankers' arrangement, not a bona fide sugar plan at all. It has tended to ruin the independent *colono* whom Jenks favors.

The most constructive suggestions are concerned with land colonization and diversification. To diversify crops and put the people on the land would reduce costly importation of foodstuffs, guarantee all-year-round sustenance, and make labor sufficiently independent to demand decent wages. The commission naively suggests that the sugar companies cooperate by setting aside parts of their land for the cultivation of foodstuffs. Cut-throat competition obviously prevents such benevolence.

The commission taxes the Roosevelt Administration for having failed to recognize the Grau Administration, the only government in all Cuba's history of truly Cuban origin. It valiantly urges the relinquishment of the Guantánamo naval

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base. Otherwise with regard to political affairs the report is weak and evasive. It hopes that "some means may be successfully found for establishing a constitutional regime in succession to the provisional government." Then it can be questioned whether the existing forms are adequate. This pious State Department hope puts the cart before the horse. Precisely because Sumner Welles cooked up a pseudo-constitutionality for his puppet De Céspedes government has the Cuban situation became so politically confused. Cuba's American-made constitution has never worked.

No clear, extended account is given by the commission of the continuous American intervention in Cuban affairs from the time that Welles and Roosevelt put the skids under Machado until Mendieta was finally inducted into office through Batista's betrayal of Grau and the government was handed over to a decrepit political clique, with all those elements which really made the revolution, except the upstart Batista, eliminated.

The commission mournfully suggests that an autonomous body of able and honorable citizens "aloof from the vicissitudes of partisan politics and dominated by non-political members" take up the task of its reconstruction program. Some of Cuba's most able and honorable citizens secretly protested to the commission against its findings and were promptly jailed or molested by the present government.

The race is on between a social revolution and an undisguised military coup by Batista or some other military leader who has played the American game. American interests are already whispering in Batista's ear that he should save Cuba. Thus the commission is blithely unaware of the revolutionary and social forces hammering Cuba on the anvil. Its conclusions all depend on the impossible return of old forms of apparent constitutionality, business revival, and American paternalism. Though it mentions cooperatives and land colonies, it carefully closes the door on nearly all collectivist tendencies and is careful to point out that its suggestions need not injure any existing enterprises. It wants to help everybody, to give every Cuban worker's family an avocado tree (this might be taken as the commission's slogan), to develop a new rural middle class, to preserve big business, to avoid disturbing existing property rights. Thus it largely evades the whole problem of American corporate ownership.

Cuba cannot live until the drain of foreign profits is vastly reduced. The burden of rent, interest, and repayment of the principal on foreign loans, on a billion and a half dollars of American investments, not to mention the enormous British and Spanish holdings, is simply too great for the island to bear. Any well-meaning reforms will run foul of this fact. The commission wishes to have its cake and eat it too. It repeatedly suggests the pressing need for Cuba to hire more American experts. God help the Cubans if some of the members of this commission are a sample!

CARLETON BEALS

Fiction in Our Time

Modern Fiction. By Dorothy Brewster and Angus Burrell. Columbia University Press. $2.75.

THE authors of "Modern Fiction" know the field of the modern novel thoroughly, and this volume, like its predecessors, "Dead Reckonings in Fiction" and "Adventure or Experience," moves with the ease and grace that come of that perfect mastery. The stress here is on the technique of the novel, the only problem in fact that the student of a literary genre can soundly set himself. The essays that deal with Dostoevski, Conrad, Joyce, Proust, and so on, aim at defining the technical distinctiveness of each writer, so that,

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taken in the sum, they give a most informing picture of the evolution of the novel during these past fifty years. The authors are concerned to be sound rather than striking, and one notes that their formulas are for the most part the ones that have best withstood the test of criticism at large. In Conrad the basic research, we are told, is the problem of the individual's spiritual isolation; in Proust, the remembrance of things past; in Virginia Woolf, character and curiosity about the whole influx of life; in Maugham, Bennett, and Mann, the passage of time. The quest for such formulas supplies an almost ideal method from the pedagogical standpoint; and for the general reader, too, such analyses are of the greatest utility as simplifying a very embroiled and forbiddingly vast mass of contemporary literature. Most of these essays have a permanent look. They give one the impression of being, as the professors say, "definitive."

The book, one might caution, has to be taken in carefully measured doses—say, two essays a week, after meals, with the proper dilutives. Judged as a book among books this is solid diet. Its heaviness does not lie in the style. The authors write always with elegance and not seldom with wit and force. It does not lie altogether in the thought. The authors are agile, original, ingenious thinkers, and there is little surplusage. There are three difficulties, as I take it. In the first place, the analyses of the various novels are too detailed and too direct. The logical summary of a work of art, unless it is practiced by a writer who makes a special craft of the digest —as William Griffith does, for instance—is one of the deadliest of all forms of literature, and I believe that history would show that one of the surest ways to kill interest in a book is to epitomize it. To the reader of this volume such summaries give an unescapable impression of being in the classroom.

In the second place, the authors of "Modern Fiction" are badly bitten by "psychology," and especially by a psychology of the Freudian variety with its mess of mother and father complexes, its "releases" and "redemptions," and much other intellectual trumpery that emanates from that school. Verily, it is as though our age had wearied of seeking the key to the riddle of the universe among the stars and had concluded, as an inspiration of despair, that there might be a chance of finding it hidden in the garbage can. The "psychological" method is simply our present-day version of the trick of "explaining" the perfectly well-known by the altogether unknown, a method which is forever being revived because it always allows us to find exactly the sort of explanation that we are looking for. "We all hate our fathers and would like to murder them." Such, for example, is one of the great discoveries of D. H. Lawrence, that Newton of the universe which the Great God Sigmund Freud created in his own image. So we go looking for the father complex in any novel that happens to be before us. Let a character make a pass at his old man in a quarrel and all the bells in Freudiania start ringing, for another writer has found his "release," another writer has been "redeemed." All such twaddle reduces literary criticism to the level of the testimonial and experience meetings in any of the medico-psychopathic religious sects, and yields results of a dulness and banality from which there is no escape.

The other trouble probably is with the novel itself. One has to be grateful to the authors of "Modern Fiction" for sparing one the nuisance of reading many of these so-called masterpieces of the novel in our time, for, on the assurance of such well-disposed authorities, one may feel that one has skipped them without losing any of the revelations that modern culture has to offer. The "stream of consciousness" bears on its grimy surface little save dead cats and rotting melon rinds. We used to have the medieval "vision," and that seemed childish. Now we have the modern "reverie," and that is supposed to be a great improvement. All the same, one can still take comfort in the fact that somewhere in between the visions and the reveries comes the nineteenth century with a few great men with a few great ideas. One looks in vain throughout these many digests for even the suggestion of an idea that is, let alone big, interesting. According to the authors of "Modern Fiction," most of the writers they review had an impassioned curiosity as to the "meaning of life." They never seem to find it, because they all sooner or later get distracted by the quest as to what happens when as a babe, or earlier, you have conceived improper designs on your mother. At fifty, the answer is, you will surely be leading a double life, and there will be no remedy except art, bolshevism, or suicide. It all reads like propaganda for Grade A milk, and it is almost enough to drive one to humanism.

One might summarize these speculations on dulness in the precept that to be interesting in our time the literary critic needs not only a theory of a literary genre but also a theory of life; for in appraising some of these writers as "great artists" the authors of "Modern Fiction" are probably doing their duty as literary critics, but they are somewhat remiss in their full scientific duty in failing on more than one occasion to designate certain celebrated idiots as the idiots they are.

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

A Pleasant View of Decay

Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline. By Constant Lambert. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

IN so far as a book review is a news item, the only way I know to report on this bright and intelligent volume by Constant Lambert is to quote from it as copiously as possible. To begin with: since it is a survey of music, I might state my belief that a reader could find its pages extremely stimulating though the sounds of music concerned him not at all. Those who are acquainted with the works which the author discusses will of course be better equipped to derive the maximum satisfaction from his lively comments, but the main requirement for the non-musical would be a general interest in the symptomatology of recent cultural movements, in the mental topography of our decades. Pungent, picturesque, aphoristic —the author gives us a succession of succinct characterizations. Himself a composer of great merit, he has a gift for verbalizing his tonal experiences; and though not one single passage of musical notation is quoted in this book, one gets an excellent picture of modern composition.

In fact, Mr. Lambert makes us realize that the "outline" is beginning to take on the dignity of a new literary form. Too often undertaken as a mere business venture, it has affronted serious readers by its superficiality. At its worst, it provides mere identification marks of the "Book of Etiquette" variety. But Mr. Lambert bears witness that it can become quite a civilized medium, with much the same interpretative value as one might derive from a good realistic novel of the panoramic sort. Indeed, such works have certain notable advantages over the realistic novel *per se*. Since they usually deal with some highly barometric aspect of the times—some art or practical activity at its most expressive stage—the writer automatically has at his disposal representative figures. And whereas the realist of the novel must often find that his cult of "reality" pledges him to report the most dismal drivel as the "truth" about people's minds and speech, the realist of the critical survey can be at once accurate and eloquent. He has, as it were, the equivalent of Shakespeare's noblemen. He can give us selective statements, statements made by people who are actually living yet who show a certain captaincy in their choice of behavior. And in direct contrast with the rules of novelistic realism, the

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sharper and more brilliant the statement of the critical survey, the greater its "photographic truth."

In any event, Mr. Lambert's book is illuminating. Of Stravinsky's rhythms he says: "They are rhythms suspended in space, arbitrary patterns in time, forming a parallel to Debussy's impressionist use of harmonies detached from melodic reasoning." Of Schönberg's harmonic system: "There are two ways of destroying the significance of the House of Lords—you can either abolish it or you can make everyone a member. We have no sense of modulation in Debussy's music for the simple reason that he doesn't modulate, and we have no sense of modulation in Schönberg's music because the work itself has become one vast modulation." Or to quote another of his ingenious contrasts: he says that Wagner gives us the "appeal of a ship with the hero's sweetheart on board leaving the quay, or the departure of a troop train in time of war," whereas Debussy's appeal "is of the less personal and more subtle order that we get from the mere sight of an unknown ship in sail." Stravinsky he both praises and condemns as a master of the pastiche, skilled at assembling musical incongruities, and borrowing from earlier styles without any sense of their inner significance but with concern for externals only: "Like a savage standing in delighted awe before those two symbols of an alien civilization, the top hat and the *pot de chambre,* he is apt to confuse their functions."

He disagrees violently with those composers who attempt to build their works upon the traditional folk melodies, which are unsuited to modern harmonic treatment, resist constructive manipulation when used as ingredients of larger symphonic forms, and are too alien to the quality of contemporary life. He likewise shows little sympathy for the "wrong note" school, whose members acquire a doubtful distinction for their compositions by the arbitrary shifting of harmonic intervals.

When discussing the shortcomings of "Exoticism and Low Life," he writes: "There is a definite limit to the length of time a composer can go on writing in one dance rhythm (this limit is obviously reached by Ravel toward the end of 'La Valse' and toward the beginning of 'Bolero')." He makes the quite paradoxical but just observation that realistic music should be used only in connection with the events it describes, concluding: "The place for music of the Honegger type is not the concert hall but the cinema. Those who are bored by 'Pacific 231' in the concert hall would have been surprised at the brilliant effect it made when used in conjunction with the Soviet film 'The Blue Express'." On the subject of "highbrow jazz," he suggests that the composer must extend the harmonic vocabulary of the popular syncopationists, but "this development must be on the lines of a broader view of what is desirable as consonance rather than on a narrower view of what constitutes dissonance."

Sibelius is this author's giant—and he writes some convincing pages upon Sibelius's virtues. After many sharp chapters devoted to the processes of musical "decline," we appreciate his firm attachment to the lonely Finn. The one great drawback of Lambert's study, from my point of view, is that it shows too little sympathy for the aesthetic behind the new collectivist trends in art. "The artist who is one of a group," he says, "writes for that group alone, whereas the artist who expresses personal experience may in the end reach universal experience." This is not the issue. Art is not merely a problem in production—as in the recent Art for Art's Sake movement. Nor is it merely a problem in consumption—as in the earlier doctrines of "appreciation." It is a problem in the coordination of production and consumption. An occasional great inventor may permit himself a long step in advance; but the trouble with Mr. Lambert's attitude is that it asks all to write as though they were the occasional great.

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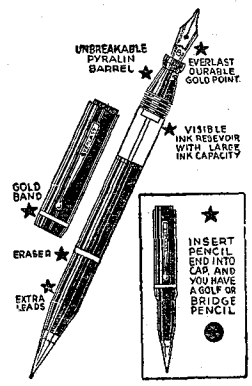
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The Pilgrimage of Heine

Poet in Exile. By Antonina Vallentin. Viking Press. $3.

A NUMBER of difficulties lie in wait for the contemporary biographer of Heine. Not the least of these is the complex character of the poet who has now become the symbol of the Jew exiled from Germany. Another difficulty arises when we remember that Heine has told his own story remarkably well. The biographer is then placed in the embarrassing position of competing with self-conscious, fully documented source material: an autobiography, letters, a journal, a travel diary, and a number of poems. A further difficulty lies in the fact that the story of Heine's career is familiar to everyone who has the slightest interest in him, and so far whatever fresh material has been brought to light seems to fall well within the pattern of a life history that Heine himself recognized as his own.

Yet, in English, the "definitive" biography of the poet remains to be written, and for the moment we must allow the present "life" to answer that demand. Handicapped by an inept, cumbersome translation from the German text, the English reader is slowly forced to admit that Antonina Vallentin has written an excellent rephrasing of a well-known story. Perhaps her style is not as bad as it is made to appear, and by presenting us with a "social interpretation" of her subject she has solved many of the more obvious difficulties that confront the Heine biographer.

She has chosen, I think, the very method that actually reveals the poet, journalist, public figure, man. It is a method not unlike that of Taine's. Time, place, and historical event behind the man are soberly presented and then carefully interwoven with the episodes of his daily existence. We have then gained the primary motives for those startling contradictions in Heine's character. We are made to see clearly the reasons for Napoleon worship in that fragment of society where Heine was born, that segment of semi-professional, semi-tradesman class of German-Jewish society that saw no conflict between a complete assimilation with German culture and an international ideal of intellectual liberalism. To this is added the direct influence of the home environment upon a supersensitive boy. Heine's father and mother lived in an atmosphere of "great expectations," of hoping to fall heir to a fortune possessed by well-to-do relatives. With them Heine entered a strange world of economic insecurity, in which perhaps great unearned wealth or deepest poverty lay just around the corner. It was a breeding place for fantasy, for hope beyond hope, and a final stage for disillusionment beyond despair. One must be granted imagination to see the possibilities of such a world; but imagination was Heine's property, which he cherished in good fortune or ill, and then turned critic upon, revealing as he did so the contradictions of nationalist and revolutionary, petty bourgeois and artist.

The central problem in Heine's life was one of self-betrayal: he could be a "good nephew" to a rich uncle and that uncle's dearest enemy; he could be the eloquent German nationalist and the champion of an international revolutionary cause; he could not live without the luxuries of bourgeois comfort, yet the actual enjoyment of them was destroyed by exile, by irregular living habits, and by the acquisition of an incurable disease. However unconscious, however "inevitable" such behavior might have been, this was self-betrayal to a purpose, for the result whether in self-defense or self-assertion was literature and literature of a revolutionary order. The particular kind of self-revelation that Heine has given us will never find its solution within the society that he inhabited; nothing short of revolution would exorcise the devils in his

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own blood as well as in the world outside him. Under Hitler in Germany today those very devils have grown into more than life-size monsters, and Heine, as self-exiled Jew, occupies the position of prophet speaking to his people across the span of the nineteenth century.

In the present biography I found two episodes in Heine's life gaining peculiar significance—one at the beginning of his career, the other at its close. Antonina Vallentin has recreated for us the famous interview with Goethe. The youthful, ambitious Heine made his appearance before the sage at Weimar, the old man whose features had already taken on the pallor of a commemorative statue. Young Heine's poise was shattered; he stood in conference with the dead. Goethe made a polite inquiry: what was the young man writing now? Heine replied: "A Faust." The statue froze, for the last passages of the second "Faust" were still unwritten and Goethe saw himself as the one man on earth fit to supply that final answer to a lifelong problem. In leaving Weimar Heine left the past behind him, and for him it meant the beginning of a long pilgrimage.

The second episode took place in Paris in 1843; this time the prematurely aged Heine played the sage and Karl Marx the young man. The relationship struck fire and prospered, for Marx supplied that energy wherein Heine saw himself reflected as in a mirror. There was a rapid exchange of influence between the two men and they collaborated in the founding of a weekly paper, the *Vorwärts*. There Heine contributed his "Silesian Weavers":

> Ein Fluch dem falschen Vaterlande
> Wo nur gedeihen Schmach und Schande
> Wo jede Blume früh geknickt,
> Wo Fäulnis und Moder den Wurm erquickt
> Wir weben, wir weben!

I think the power of these lines contains the same relevance today as in the hour in which they were written, and in them Marx's subsequent defense of Heine as a revolutionary poet is amply justified. In Heine's case the process of self-betrayal had gone so far as to reveal the very heart of man's betrayal of himself within a universe of evil. The self-sacrifice was complete: "Und in mir lebt nur noch der Tod."

And in this final sacrifice lay his salvation.

HORACE GREGORY

Drama

A Not Very Magic Mountain

IT is reliably reported that England thought very well indeed of a piece called "Prisoners of War" when it was first produced some ten years ago. Now that it has reached the Ritz Theater after so long an interval the American public has a chance to judge for itself, but if the first-night audience furnishes any criterion it is not likely to be very much impressed. That audience, indeed, showed a tendency to giggle when it was not supposed to and it was plainly restless long before the curtain finally descended upon a series of events hardly pointed enough to hold the attention of those not especially thrilled by certain subdued references to homosexual love.

Ten years ago there was doubtless a topical interest in the story of a group of British officers marooned on a Swiss mountain and wishing they were sick enough to be paroled. The author begins by sketching their monotonous life, and there is, indeed, a certain mild effectiveness in his picture of a group of grown men whom boredom has reduced to schoolboyish bickerings. Almost inevitably something like the adolescent

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☐ PLAYS ☐ FILMS ☐

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with JANE COWL
and JOHN HALLIDAY
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ELISABETH BERGNER in
ESCAPE ME NEVER
by MARGARET KENNEDY
SHUBERT THEATRE, 44th Street, West of Broadway.
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HERMAN SHUMLIN *presents*
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☐ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says ☐

ACCENT ON YOUTH. Plymouth Theater. Hopeful message for the middle-aged in a lively comedy about playwright in love with his secretary. Witty and amusing.

ANYTHING GOES. Alvin Theater. Victor Moore as Public Enemy No. 13 in a No. 1 musical revue, with Ethel Merman at her best.

ESCAPE ME NEVER. Shubert Theater. Here is a heap of theatrical rubbish, romantically entitled. Few if any indeed, could play it one-half so charmingly as Elisabeth Bergner.

LIFE BEGINS AT 8:40. Winter Garden. Disputes with "Anything Goes" for first place among the revues.

MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG. Music Box Theater. One of the outstanding hits and very good indeed if you don't mind having your serious plays use a little staycomb in their hair. By George Kaufman and Moss Hart, who excoriate cheap success without forgetting to put in a few wisecracks where they will do most good.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE. Henry Miller's Theater. Much like the above but about a movie star this time and perhaps a trifle less mechanical.

RAIN FROM HEAVEN. Golden Theater. Perhaps the best—and certainly the most substantial—of S. N. Behrman's excellent comedies. With Jane Cowl as a charming embodiment of urbanity and tolerance in a world seemingly about to lose both.

REVENGE WITH MUSIC. New Amsterdam Theater. Charles Winninger, Rex O'Malley, and Libby Holman in a lavish and generally entertaining operetta with lots of comedy and some good dancing in a more or less Spanish manner.

ROMEO AND JULIET. Martin Beck Theater. Swift and beautiful production with Katharine Cornell as Juliet, Basil Rathbone as Romeo, and Brian Aherne as Mercutio.

SAILORS OF CATTARO. Civic Repertory Theater. The third and much the best offering by the Theater Union, which goes in for plays with a revolutionary purpose. This one is all about a mutiny on board an Austrian man-of-war, and it is first rate as a play, quite aside from the red-flag waving.

THE CHILDREN'S HOUR. Maxine Elliott's Theater. Tense but grim drama about a fiendishly perverse child, who is played with extraordinary force by Florence McGee. One of the most discussed plays of the year.

THE PETRIFIED FOREST. Broadhurst Theater. Superb performance by Leslie Howard in Robert Sherwood's engrossing play about a lost intellectual. Exciting as melodrama but a great deal more besides.

THUMBS UP. St. James Theater. Bobby Clark, Hal Le Roy, and others in a slightly old-fashioned but entertaining review. crush develops when each man in his loneliness picks out a pal, and the story centers around one particular youth obviously predisposed by nature to such an experience. No physical relationship develops and it is not entirely clear just how far the author intended to emphasis the possibility of any such thing, but the American director, at least, has chosen to stress the pathological aspect as strongly as the text will permit, with the result that the whole seems both timid and offensive. In a sense Barton Hepburn, who plays the leading role, is almost too good. Nearly every gesture and nearly every intonation carries a certain painful suggestion of fundamental effeminacy. He is repulsively gentle and maddeningly fussy. He quarrels shrilly, repents in abasement, and sulks like a prima donna. Given the ungrateful role, it is perhaps not easy to imagine just what else he could have done, but it is difficult to enlist the sympathy of an audience for a creature so thoroughly unattractive, and the audience does what mankind has always done when faced with a suffering outside its comprehension—it snickers uncomfortably and averts its eyes. Possibly "Prisoners of War" will enjoy a certain success of scandal but it is probably too tame for even that, and the ordinary observer will be inclined to set it down as another instance of that strange English ambition to make their contemporary drama as undramatic as possible.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"Fly Away Home" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) is an amusing minor farce in which the youngest generation confounds its elders by putting into practice the best modern theories of education. Old-fashioned virtue and romance triumph in the end but not before both have been subjected to a lively fire of predictable but deft witticisms. The cast is well trained and the audience is constantly amused. M. M.

[*Several reviews scheduled for this number have been omitted for lack of space. They will appear in early issues.*]

Contributors to This Issue

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